# Approaches to Sumerian Literature
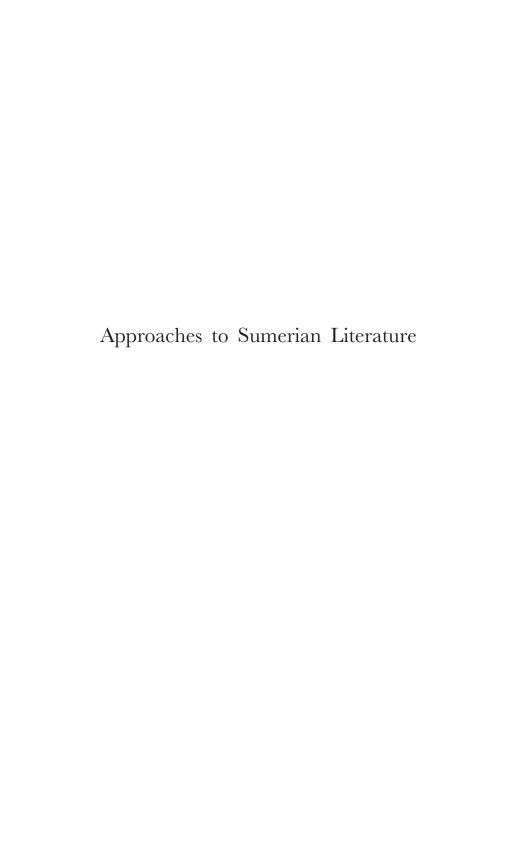
Studies in Honour of Stip (H.L.J. Vanstiphout)

Edited by Piotr Michalowski
and Niek Veldhuis

# Approaches to Sumerian Literature

# Cuneiform Monographs

*Editors*

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VOLUME 35

Stip (Dr. H. L. J. Vanstiphout)

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# H. L. J. VANSTIPHOUT: AN APPRECIATION

The scholarly work of H. L. J. Vanstiphout, known as Stip to his friends, reads as a persistent, stubborn meditation on one central theme: the importance of Mesopotamian literature as *literature*, that is as verbal art. The importance of this literature is paramount for any assessment of the thoughts, ideas, and ideologies of ancient Mesopotamians, and as a demonstration of their artistic and scholarly know-how. Moreover, Vanstiphout argues, this literature is our earliest, and is therefore of critical importance if we are to understand literature as such. In the nineties of the last century the Mesopotamian Literature Group met three times in Groningen, at the initiative of Vanstiphout and Dr. Marjan Vogelzang. These lively meetings and their proceedings established Groningen as the world center for the study of cuneiform literature.

Vanstiphout's contributions to the field of cuneiform literary studies may be classified under three closely related headings: structure, interdisciplinarity, and popularization. The emphasis on structure indicates a shift in attention from *what* the texts tell us—all too often understood as directly reflecting the ancient reality—to *how* they produce their message. Vanstiphout's studies of the literary disputes are excellent examples of this aspect of his scholarship, demonstrating that these texts exhibit a more or less fixed pattern, from (mythological) introduction, to verbal exchange, to verdict—a pattern that may be used and altered creatively to achieve special effects. Vanstiphout's consistent emphasis on structure further implies a shift in attention away from individual words and phrases towards an understanding of literary works, genres, and indeed the whole corpus of cuneiform literature as integrated, meaningful wholes. His various contributions to the problem of genre and the curricular background of Sumerian literature may be seen in this light.

The concept structure as employed by Vanstiphout has its roots in the Prague Linguistic Circle and in the related French structuralist movements of the last century. The introduction of such ideas, concepts, and research methods from other disciplines, including linguistics, literary theory, and mediaeval studies, is a remarkable constant in his work. An outstanding example is his "Un Carré d'Amour

sumérien," a discussion of several Sumerian poems about love pursuits of the gods, in which he successfully applied concepts and analyses first introduced by the famous French medievalist E. Le Roy Ladurie. Co-operation with scholars from a variety of disciplines led to a number of meetings that resulted in edited volumes on Dispute Poems, Aspects of Genre, and Cultural Repertories—all of them (co)-edited by Vanstiphout and inspired by the idea that interaction with non-cuneiformists enriches our knowledge and results in a whole that is more than the mere accumulation of its parts. The pursuit of interdisciplinary studies is never easy, since it requires extensive knowledge in an array of scholarly fields and sometimes invites skepticism, if not worse, from colleagues who are not willing to go beyond traditional notions of philology. But Vanstiphout has always based his literary analysis on solid philological foundations: he has authored or co-authored a number of primary text editions, and has always worked closely with original sources. Indeed, he is a frequent visitor to the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia, where he works on deciphering, identifying, and collating ancient tablets from the school rooms of Nippur.

Vanstiphout's intense interaction with scholars from various disciplines created the necessity and obligation to make the primary evidence available to the non-specialist. Over the last decade he has published four volumes of translations; three in Dutch and one in English, all of them provided with introductions that draw attention to the literary structure and qualities of the texts translated. True popularization eschews simplification, and thus the reader of Vanstiphout's Dutch translation of Sumerian heroic and mythological poems (the first such anthology in the language) is confronted with a long essay that discusses the essentials of the Sumerian writing system and language, the literary system of genres, verse and strophe, and various issues of Sumerian culture and religion. Much the same can be said about his rendition of Gilgamesh, which was greeted with much praise by the Dutch press.

The present book is a collection of studies in Sumerian literature in honor of Stip, who through his work as teacher, scholar, convener, and editor transformed this field beyond recognition.

Piotr Michalowski and Niek Veldhuis

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# NINURTA AND THE TURTLE:
## ON PARODIA SACRA IN SUMERIAN LITERATURE

Bendt Alster

### Publication History

The Sumerian literary composition *Ninurta and the Turtle* was first published by C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer as *UET* 6/1 no. 2 (U 16900C). In this volume, Kramer provided a clear and precise description of the text. The first full edition was Alster (1972). Kramer (1984) provided a new translation with comments and three good photographs (pp. 235–237). He translated the text again in 1989 in two different publications (Kramer and Bottéro 1989; Kramer and Maier 1989). A number of duplicates have been identified, but these are fragmentary and partly uncertain and therefore not of as much help as one could hope.

The reason for attempting a new edition of *Ninurta and the Turtle* is its remarkable character as the clearest example in extant Sumerian literature of a parody of a god. In dedicating the present study to Herman Vanstiphout I wish to acknowledge the fact that he has been a source of inspiration for my own work in particular and for Sumerology in general. Since I met Herman Vanstiphout for the first time in Rome in 1974, I have felt that his aims were very closely related to my own. We have both learnt a lot since those days and have had to revise many of our early views, but the enthusiastic and open-minded manner in which he quoted comparative parallels from European medieval literature, as well as from general theoretical approaches, have ever since been a great source of inspiration to me. His recognition of the humorous character of Sumerian *écriture* has become a landmark in the study of Sumerian literature, as will hopefully appear from the study below.[1]

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*Sources for* Ninurta and the Turtle

ETCSL (Black, et al. 1998–) lists the following duplicates:

CBS 8319 (+) CBS 15007 (+) CBS 15085:[2] Small fragments from a three-column tablet originally containing the entire composition, about 300 lines.

N 7337

Ni 4089 (*ISET* 1, 71): A very small fragment of 6 lines from one undefined side with no edges preserved. Identified by Civil; the attribution to *Ninurta and the Turtle* remains uncertain. May belong around line 58, but it is no clear duplicate. It is transliterated below.

*UET* 6/1, 2 = U 16900C, edited below.

*UET* 6/3, *484 (unpublished)

*UET* 6/3, *20 (unpublished); a transliteration of this fragment was given by Kramer and is quoted below.

*SLTNi* 41 (Ni 4003); a small fragment with the left edge preserved. The obverse (transliterated below) may belong to the opening passage otherwise not preserved. The reverse is included in the main text as text B.

*Transliteration and Translation*

*SLTNi* 41 (Ni 4003):
Obv.
1   x [. . .]
2   amar a[nzu …]
3   GIŠ.ŠUB [. . .]
4   amar an[zu(AN.IM.DUGUD)[mušen . . .]

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5   ur-saĝ $^{d}$nin-[urta . . .]
6   $^{ĝiš}$kak KA [. . .]
7   amar anz[u (AN.IM.DUGUD) . . .]
8   ⸢ZU?⸣ ⸢ŠÁR⸣ ⸢šè?⸣ n[ir? . . .] (could it be $^{ĝiš}$šár-ùr?)

This is part of a combat scene that must have come before *UET* 6/1, 2. Apparently the passage describes the defeat of Young Anzu by Ninurta. The reverse duplicates ll. 7–13 of the main text.

    *UET* 6/3 *20: This text was not available to me; Kramer (1984:233, n. 2) provides the following transliteration:

Obv.
1   . . . e . . . .
2   me-ĝu$_{10}$ . . .
3   ĝiš-hur-ĝu$_{10}$ . . .
4   dub nam-tar-ra-ĝu$_{10}$ . . .
5   ur-saĝ $^{d}$nin-urta . . .
6   me $^{d}$en-ki-ga-šè . . .
7   ĝiš-hur-bi me-a . . .
8   [dub-nam-tar-ra-bi . . .]

Rev.
1   en-e . . .
2   á nam-[ur-saĝ-ĝá] . . .
3   saĝ-kal ba?-ab- . . .
4   ug-gal . . .
5   ug-tur . . .

Obv. (*Young Anzu speaking?*): ". . . (2) My *me* . . . (3) My plans . . . (4) My tablet of destiny. . . ." (5–6) Hero Ninurta [returned] the *me* to Enki's . . . <place>. Those plans, where (7) [have they been taken to? (8) That tablet of destiny, where has it been taken to?].

    On the obverse the speaker seems to be Young Anzu, who complains that his possession of the *me*, the "plans," and the tablets of destiny has been terminated by Ninurta. Young Anzu claims to have owned these *me* by calling them me-ĝu$_{10}$, "my *me*" (obv. 2). Read perhaps in obverse 6: me <ki> $^{d}$en-ki-ga-šè, "the *me* returned to Enki's place," etc. The fragment might fit just before *UET* 6/1, 2 starts.

    The reverse may be placed after *UET* 6/1, 2, and is probably to be understood as a fragment from a hymnic continuation of the text,

praising Ninurta as the victorious defeater of Young Anzu. Apparently
Ninurta(?) is compared (? [. . . -gim]) to big and small lions (rev.
4–5).

Ni 4089 = *ISET* 1 71:

1    [. . .] ĝál [. . .]
2    [. . . nu]n ĝá RI [. . .]
3    [. . .]-uš [. . .]
4    [. . .]⌈x⌉ PI-ĝá-n[i . . .]
5    [. . . m]u-na-tuk₄-[tuk₄ . . .]
6    [. . .] ⌈ab⌉-me-en [. . .]

This may belong around ll. 56–58, but only if the texts differed con-
siderably.

*UET* 6/1, 2

The main source *UET* 6/1, 2 is complete with relatively little sur-
face damage. It had 10 or 20 line marks, and contains exactly 60
lines followed by a subscript (itu ZÍZ-a u₄ 8-kam). It is likely to be
the middle of a sequence of three (or more) tablets that contained
the complete composition.

1    dug₄-ga-ni-ta ⁿⁱˢtukul-zu hul-a mu-ni-in-šum
2    me šu-ĝá šu ba-ba-ĝu₁₀-ne me-bi abzu-šè ba-an-gi₄
3    ĝiš-hur šu-ĝá šu ba-ba-ĝu₁₀-ne ĝiš-hur-bi abzu-šè ba-an-gi₄
4    du[b-nam-tar-ra-b]i abzu-šè ba-an-gi₄ me ab-lá-e-en
5    [inim amar a]nzu([AN].IM.DUGUD)ᵐᵘˢᵉⁿ-šè ur-saĝ ᵈnin-urta
     lul-aš ba-an-si
6    [pa₄-šeš-an]-na-ke₄ a-nir im-ĝá-ĝá
7    [ĝá-e me]-bi šu-ĝu₁₀-uš li-[b]í-ku₄ nam-en-bi nu-ak-e
      B: ĝá-e me-bi šu [. . .]
8    [ĝá-e] e-ne-gim [èš-e] abzu-a nu-mu-un-til
      B: e-ne-gin₇-n[am . . .] (no room for ĝá-e)
9    [a-a] ᵈen-ki inim m[u-un-dug₄-du]g₄-ga-a abzu-a ba-da-an-zu
      B: a-a ᵈen-ki inim [. . .]
10   [ur]-saĝ ᵈnin-urta amar anzu(AN.IM.DUGUD)ᵐᵘˢᵉⁿ-dè šu-ni
     bí-in-ti
      B: ur-saĝ ᵈni[n-urta . . .]
11   ki en-ki-ga-šè abzu-šè im-ma-da-[t]e
      B: ki ᵈen-ki-g[a . . .]
12   ᵈu₄-ta-u₁₈-lu amar anzuᵐᵘˢᵉⁿ-dè abzu-šè ba-an-gi₄
      B: u₄-ta-u₁₈-[. . .]

13 en ur-saĝ-ra ba-ši-húl
  B: en-⌜e⌝ [. . .]
14 a-a ᵈen-ki ⌜ur-saĝ⌝ ᵈnin-urta-ra ba-ši-húl
15 en ᵈnu-di[m-mud-e m]í-zi mu-un-i-i-ne
16 ur-saĝ-e diĝir šeš-[zu-ne]-a diĝir [n]a-me ur₅-gim nu-mu-un-
  ak-e
17 mušen ᵍᶦˢtukul-ka[la-ga-z]u bí-dab₅-ba-šè
18 u₄-me-da u₄-ul-lí-šè [g]ú-⌜bi⌝ ĝìri-*zu(⁽ text su) b[a-gub-bé-en]
19 diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne á-nam-ur-saĝ-ĝ[á-za] me-téš [hé-i-i-ne]
20 a-a-zu ᵈen-líl-le níĝ-KA-[zu] ⌜hé-ak⌝
21 ᵈnin-men-na-ke₄ kíĝ-⌜sì⌝-ga-zu na-an-dím-e
22 za-e-gim ní na-ab-tuku ⌜diĝir⌝ ⌜na-me⌝ igi-zu-šè šu-si-sá na-
  an-sá-e
23 iti-da èš-e abz[u]-a igi-du₈-a ⌜é?⌝-zu saĝ hé-ús
24 [an] zag-gal-la mu-[z]u [h]é-pà-d[è]
25 ur-saĝ nam-tar-ra-⌜bi⌝ ⌜šà⌝-bi nu-húl
26 ki-gub-ba-ni a-⌜ĝi₆?⌝ i-im-ku₁₀-ku₁₀-ge i-sig₇-sig₇-ge
27 šà-bi níĝ-gal-gal ⌜i-im⌝-bal-bal šà-bi ì-kúr-kúr
28 inim da-bi nu-ub-⌜tuku⌝-a bar-bi i-im-dug₄-dug₄
29 ur-saĝ ᵈnin-urta igi-bi ki-šár-ra ba-ni-in-ĝar
30 lú na-me nu-ub-dug₄ šà-bi zi nu-*pa-pa-a? (written over erasure)
31 en-gal ᵈen-ki ki ní-te-na-ke₄ inim šà-bi ba-⌜an⌝-zu
32 èš-e abzu-a a-ĝi₆-mud i-im-tuk₄-tuk₄⌜e⌝
33 sukkal ᵈisimud-dè é-e ĝìri mu-un-ru-gú
34 ur-saĝ ᵈnin-urta è-dè nu-mu-un-še-še
35 sukkal ᵈisimud-dè-šè šu-ni ba-an-zi
36 ᵈen-ki-ke₄ im abzu-a ba-al-gu₇ ba-da-an-dím
37 ki-sun₅(BÚR)-na ká abzu-a ba-al-gu₇ ba-da-an-gub
38 ᵈen-ki-ke₄ ki-lul-la-ke₄ mu-un-na-an-dug₄-dug₄
39 ki-gub-ba ba-al-gi₄-šè ba-da-an-tùm
40 ba-al-gu₇ eĝir-ra-ni sa-bi ba-da-an-dab₅
41 ur-saĝ ᵈnin-urta ĝìri-bi ba-da-an-gi₄
42 ᵈen-ki [nu]-zu-gim a-na-àm ne-e im-me
43 umbin ĝìri-⌜ni⌝ ki bí-in-hur habrud-hul ⌜ba⌝-da-an-dun-ud
44 ur-saĝ ᵈnin-urta šà-bi ba-da-an-šub
45 ur-saĝ-e ga-[x x]-⌜x⌝ e₁₁-dè nu-mu-un-zu-àm
46 ba-al-gu₇ ĝì[ri límmu?-b]i ba-an-sur-sur
47 en-gal ᵈen-ki-⌜ke₄⌝ [gù mu-un]-na-dé-e
48 me-[ĝu₁₀? k]ur-ta m[u]-ni-in-niĝin ⌜mu⌝ <mu>-pà-dè
49 ĝá-ra saĝ-⌜ĝiš⌝-ra-ĝu₁₀-uš igi-zu mu-e-ĝar-ra-à[m]

50  x-bíl-ga gal-gal-di ĝá-e bí-⌈íb⌉-ĝá-ĝá ĝá-e bí-íb-[zi⌉]-zi-dè
51  za-e ĝá-ra a-gim igi-zu mu-ĝar-ra
52  ki-gub-ba-zu a-na-àm mu-ra-an-dab₅ a-⌈rá⌉-bi a-na-gin₇-nam
53  nam-kala-ga-zu me-šè ba-an-túm nam-ur-saĝ-zu me-a
54  hur-saĝ-gal-gal-e mu-ni-in-gul-gul e-ne-šè a-na-*àm (text: nam)
    mu-e₁₁-dè
55  ᵈnin-men-na-ke₄ inim-bi ba-da-an-pà
56  túg-bar-ra-na a[l-b]ir₇-re gir₅ im-sar-[sar-re]
57  ᵘug-gu₇-gu₇-ĝu₁₀-uš z[a-e] a-ba-a mu-ra-ab-túm
58  lú saĝ-bi mu-un-tuk₄-tuk₄ ba-r[a²-mu]-un-gi₁₆-LÍL za-⌈e⌉
    a-⌈ba⌉ [m]u-ra-[a]b-túm
59  ᵈam-an-ki mu-bi nu-me-a u₄-g[u₇-g]u₇ nu-dé-dé mu-bi-*im
    (text: TIN)
60  nam-úš šu-ĝar nu-tuku-a za-e a-[ba]-⌈a⌉ mu-ra-ab-túm

*Translation*

1   (*Young Anzu speaking:*) "At his command, you stroke me with
    your club, the terrible one.
2   When I dropped the symbols of power (*me*) from my hand,
    those symbols of power returned to Abzu.
3   When I let the plans slip away from my hands, those plans
    returned to Abzu,
4   that tablet of destiny returned to Abzu, I am deprived of the
    symbols of power."
5   At the words of Young Anzu, Hero Ninurta was stunned,
6   [Pašešan]na set up a lament:
7   "As for me, the symbols of power (*me*) did not enter my
    hands, I cannot exercise their lordship.
8   I am not going to live like him in [Shrine] Abzu!"
9   [Father] Enki in Abzu knew the words he had spoken.
10  Hero Ninurta took Young Anzu by his hand
11  and approached Enki's place, Abzu, with him.
12  Utaulu introduced? Young Anzu into Abzu.
13  The lord rejoiced over Hero Ninurta.
14  Father Enki rejoiced over Hero Ninurta.
15  Lord Nudimmud flattered him:
16  "Hero, among the gods, your brethren, there is no god who
    has done anything comparable!
17  Because you caught the bird with your strong weapon,

18  every day until all eternity you will set your feet upon its neck!
19  All the great gods will praise your heroic strength!
20  Your father Enlil will execute your plans.
21  Ninmena [will not create a match for you].
22  May no one be as awesome as you and no god extend an upraised hand before you.
23  Every month in Shrine Abzu tributes will constant(ly be delivered) into your [temple]!
24  An will invoke your name in the seat of honor."
25   Secretly, the hero was not pleased with that decision.
26  Where he stood he caused a flood wave to become dark, it became green.
27  Secretly, he pondered great things, secretly he became hostile.
28  A word that had no (open) "side" he spoke aside.
29  Hero Ninurta set his face towards the entire horizon.
30  No one spoke it out, its secret was not cried out².
31  (Yet,) Great Lord Enki spontaneously by himself understood the secrecy.
32  In Shrine Abzu, he made a dark flood wave tremble.
33  He directed Vizier Isimud up against the house:
34  He did not allow Hero Ninurta to enter the house,
35  but he (= Ninurta) raised his hand against Vizier Isimud.
36  Enki fashioned a turtle from Abzu clay.
37  He positioned the turtle at the entrance, at the Abzu gate.
38  Enki informed him (= the turtle) of the treachery.
39  He took him (= Ninurta) to the place where the turtle was.
40  The turtle caught him from behind in the sinew (i.e., in his Achilles heel).
41  Hero Ninurta stumbled² on *his² feet.
42  Enki, like an ignorant one, said: "What is this?"
43  Having scratched the soil with the claws of its feet and having dug a stumbling pit,
44  it hurled Hero Ninurta into it.
45  Hero Ninurta (said:) "let me [get out]," but, since he did not know how to come up,
46  the turtle continued digging with its [four²] feet.
47  Great Lord Enki spoke to him:
48  "For you who returned [my] symbols of power (*me*) a name has been invoked,
49  but having set your face against me in order to murder me,

50   —I, who am renowned as senior ancestor(?), it is up to me
     (alone) to stir up and to calm down—
51   (why) did you raise your face against me like this?
52   Your position, what (benefit) has it acquired for you? Like
     what is the track? it will lead you into?
53   Whither has your strength taken you? Where is your heroism?
54   You who caused destruction in the mountains, now, into what
     have you come down?"
55   The matter was revealed to Ninmena
56   —rending her outer clothes, running like a stranger (she
     said:)—
57   "To you (= Enki), as to (= instead of?) my *Ugugu* (i.e., "Food
     Provider" = Ninurta), whom shall I send to you?
58   People will shake their heads, (saying:) 'it cannot last!?' —
     whom shall I send to you?
59   Am-anki (= *emesal* for Enki) is not the name for it, '*Ugugu*
     (i.e., Food Provider) Not Serving' is the name for it.
60   (When faced with) merciless death, whom shall I send to
     you?"

### Comments on Individual Lines

**Line 1**: The reference in -/ani/ is best taken as Enki, who ordered
Ninurta to recapture the symbols of power (*me*) that the bird had
apparently stolen from Enki.

**Line 2**: In the present text I translate me-bi as "those *me*/sym-
bols of power," without taking a stand as to their concrete nature;
cf. the discussion below. In principle I agree with Kramer (1984:232,
n. 8), that me-bi means its *me*, scl. of the Abzu, but this analysis
does not apply here. If the possessive had been intended, -bi would
have come after the first me in the line, not after the second. -bi is
therefore demonstrative.

**Line 4**: The restoration [dub-nam-tar-ra-b]i proposed by Alster
(1972:120), has been confirmed by the Ur duplicate transliterated
above, obv. 4.

**Line 5**: amar-anzu is not a genitive construction but rather a rare
example of premodification: "Young Anzu," "Baby Anzu," or "Anzu-
Chick," similar to kù ᵈlugal-bàn-da, "Sanctus Lugalbanda," kù ᵈinanna,

"Holy Inanna," etc. The problem remains, however, that grammar requires *inim anzu-<da>-šè.

The very name of Anzu exemplifies the same type of construction. The bird name is here written AN.IM.DUGUD.MUŠEN, in which DUGUD is a relatively late graphic pun on IM.DUGUD, "thundercloud." In the Isin-Larsa period, this writing replaces the older writing IM.MI.MUŠEN, known from Ur III and older. The notion that the anzu bird was a thunderbird (Th. Jacobsen) is thus based on a late graphic pun that had no basis in the original concept of the bird. Originally the bird's name was simply /zu/, written IM-MI = $^{im}zu_x$(-d), in which IM remains unexplained as an element of unknown significance, whereas MI = $zu_x$ is well attested in ĝissu = ĝiš-$zu_x$(MI). /an/ in my opinion is nothing but another example of premodification, "Heavenly zu-bird," similar to an-edin, "the high plain," etc. The available evidence supports both the readings zu alone and anzu; for details see Alster (1991:1–5). For further references see Veldhuis (2004: 219).

lul-aš, (= *mādiš iqūl*), "was stunned;" the translation was suggested by Kramer (1984:232).

**Line 6–8**: ETCSL restores $^d$nin-men-na-ke₄ in line 6, and understands ll. 6–8 as spoken by her, following an opinion expressed by Civil, quoted by Kramer (1984:232, n. 6). Kramer tended to agree, yet without taking the consequences. I consider this solution less likely for two reasons. First, it is true that Ninurta, in the relief shown on the obverse of the *Stele of the Vultures*, was instigated by his mother to proceed to the battle, but this hardly played a role in the present case, because then we would expect her to play a predominant role in ll. 25ff. It was not her intention to gain world dominion for herself, and her ambitions were only on behalf on her son. Second, the juxtaposition of a line with a full name, followed by a matching line in which the name has been substituted by an epithet, is a general and recurring stylistic feature in the text. The pattern of parallelism therefore favors an epithet of Ninurta in line 6; cf. ll. 14–15, etc., and the comments on ll. 10–11. pa₄-šeš-an-na-ke₄ occurs elsewhere as an epithet of Ninurta, and is very suitable here (cf. Alster 1972 with n. 20, referring to *BE* 29, 1 ii 34). pa₄-šeš-an-na is a loanword from *pašīšu*, "the anointed one of An." As an epithet of Ninurta, it is apparently used here with a stroke of irony.

**Line 7**: For me-bi, "the *me* of Abzu," cf. the comments to line 2.

**Line 8**: [èš-e] suggested by Kramer (1984:231), on the basis of ll. 23 and 32. Grammatically this means "in/to the sanctuary" (loc-term) but in our text it seems to be used as an undeclined epithet, "the shrine," of Abzu.

In spite of the reservations of Kramer (1984:231, n. 3), there is no problem in taking til as phonetic for til = ti(-l). A clear parallel displaying til as a variant of ti(-l) occurs, e.g., in *The Instructions of Šuruppak* 4–5. Abzu is here Enki's sanctuary, but by extension also the marsh areas from which the *me* originated (cf. Alster 2005a:6–17).

**Line 9**: The precise value of the comitative infix in ba-da-zu seems to be "was able to understand." Cf. the similar use of -da- in line 55.

**Lines 10–11**: There is no straightforward way to interpret this line. Either an ergative /e/ (>-ke$_4$) must be inserted after $^d$nin-urta, in which case it is Ninurta who takes Young Anzu peacefully by his hand; the -dè following anzu then represents the loc-term /e/. Or, reversely, since šu—ti cannot take a direct object, a loc-term suffix /e/, appearing identically, would have to be inserted after $^d$nin-urta; a problem overlooked by Kramer (1984). In the latter case it is Young Anzu that takes Ninurta by hand. I prefer the first possibility as the more likely one. In either case, the situation is a comical reversal of a traditional theme: the hero entering the temple of the superior god with the trophies of victory in order to be praised by him. The theme is well known from *An-gim dím-ma*; cf. also the representations on the obverse of the *Stele of the Vultures*. Yet, in the present case, Young Anzu is a rather ludicrous enemy!

One might consider the possibility that Young Anzu played a role different from that of the adult Anzu-bird, perhaps that the Anzu-bird was defeated and that its young then tried to mediate. However, *SLTNi* 41 obv. 2–8, transliterated above, seems to confirm the impression that Young Anzu was indeed the enemy with whom Ninurta fought in this text (cf. the comments on ll. 6 and 17).

**Line 12**: gi$_4$ may be phonetic for ku$_4$(-r) = *erēbu*. Cf. the variation ba-al-gu$_7$ : ba-al-gi$_4$ in ll. 36 versus 39, etc.; also the similar cases, albeit all with gu$_7$ rather than ku$_4$, noted by Alster (1972:124), and, e.g., *SP* 15 Sec. B 7 versus *SP* 25.2 (Alster 1997:I 225).

ku$_4$(-r) is certainly the expected verb, traditionally said of introducing someone or something into a temple. The most likely solution is that -dè represents the comitative -/da/, lit., "Utaulu entered into Abzu with Amar Anzu."

**Line 15**: The verb form mu-un-i-i-ne is plural, presumably erroneously influenced by a similar verb in line 19 (now missing). Alternatively one may translate: "Lord Nudimmud (said:) 'they (scl. the gods) will flatter you,'" but that is less likely, because a hu-prefix would be expected. The absence of a verb introducing direct speech is no problem, however; cf. the comments on line 56.

**Line 17**: Kramer (1984:233, n. 13) considers the possibility that "the bird" in this line might be different from Amar Anzu, but this is very unlikely. The use of epithets, such as mušen, "bird," instead of the name of the actual character is a common feature of such texts, and if not recognized, the composition would be reduced to incoherent single units. Cf. the comments on ll. 6 and 10–11.

**Line 18**: The line may suggest a reference to a sculpture representing Ninurta and the slain Anzu-bird exhibited in the temple.

**Line 20**: níĝ-KA-[zu] ⌜hé-ak⌝: ETCSL translates: "May your father Enlil do whatever you command," which would have required níĝ-dug₄-<ga>-[zu]. Alster (1972:123), explained níĝ-KA as = ṭēmu, which would have required KA.HI or ka-ka-sì-ga. No fully satisfactory explanation has thus been found, but the approximate meaning is reasonably clear.

**Line 21**: kíĝ-⌜sì⌝-ga-zu: ETCSL translates: "May Ninmena not fashion your equal." The basic idea seems to be that she will not fashion one who can replace Ninurta, i.e., do as much as he, be a match for him. This meaning appears from *Enki and Ninmah* 23, quoted by Alster (1972:123).

**Line 22**: ní na-ab-tuku ⌜diĝir⌝ ⌜na-me⌝ igi-zu-šè šu-si-sá na-an-sá-e: ETCSL translates: "May no one be as awesome as you and no god extend an upraised hand before you," which I have accepted. For references for šu-si-sá—sá, see the literature listed by Alster (1972:123).

**Line 23**: igi-du₈ = *tāmartu*: correctly explained by Alster (1972), but not acknowledged by Kramer (1984:23); cf. AHw *tāmartu*, "Begrüßungsgeschenk;" it occurs in *Instr. Šuruppak* 20–21; *Death of Gilgameš* 139, etc. It here seemingly alludes to some kind of gift regularly delivered in a temple ceremony.

**Line 25**: ⌜šà⌝-bi (= *šà-bi-šè) is here adverbial: "inwardly" or "secretly," as in ll. 27 and 31. The contrast between what is openly expressed and what is only thought in secret is essential to the text. nam-tar is here more a decision than a fate or destiny. ETCSL translates "these promises," which is convincing.

**Line 26**: Cf. line 32 below. If the restoration a-⌈ĝi$_6$⌉ is justified, this is the well known term that appears in a-ĝi$_6$ = *agû*, and in a-ĝi$_6$-ru, the etymology of which is a-ĝi$_6$-uru$_{16}$(EN)(-n), probably meaning "the mighty flood-wave" or similar (rather than "flood-wave calming down"). What precisely ĝi$_6$ means in this case is uncertain, but it does not mean "black," which would require ĝi$_6$-ga in this function; cf. the discussion in Alster (2005a:10–11 with notes 17–21).

It is remarkable that in the present case it is Ninurta, not Enki, who caused the flood-wave to appear, obviously in order to hide his intention to approach Enki's dwelling in secret and so conquer his position. Therefore it is said to be dark (ku$_{10}$-ku$_{10}$) and green (sig$_7$-sig$_7$). In line 32, Enki proved able to take the necessary countermeasures, in terms of a yet bigger flood-wave. ETCSL understands the text as Ninurta himself changing color, but then we would have expected igi-ni, "his face," or similar.

**Line 27**: Alster (1972:122) translated šà-bi "in secret." This was contested by Kramer (1984:233), who did not offer a meaningful translation, although he admitted that "secretly" makes "excellent sense." According to Kramer, the adverbial -bi can only be "attached to an adjective, not a substantive." Cf. Poebel, *GSG* p. 64 §174, and p. 144f. §§394–395. The adverbial use of -bi, = */šà-bi-šè/, is not problematic, however, and crucial to the understanding of ll. 25–31. Cf., e.g., á-zi (*á-zi-šè), "violently," in *Instr. Šuruppak* 50: áš á-zi na-ab-bal-e; ibid. 62: ĝiš á-zi na-an-ne-en = *ina š[a-ga-aš-ti]* *la ta-na-qí-ip*, "do not rape;" also téš-bi (from *diš-bi-šè), etc; also Römer (2005: 224).

Here šà-bi clearly means "inwardly," or "secretly" in contrast to what appears openly. Alternatively one would have to assume that šà-bi is used for the personal construction *šà-ga-ni. Such a grammatical form would not be unthinkable in this Ur text, because in line 29 igi-bi is apparently used for *igi-ni, "his face." Yet, such is probably not the case in line 27, although the grammar of this source generally seems to be constructed more by Akkadian than Sumerian principles. If "in his (own) heart" had been intended the text would certainly have had šà-ga-na, as indicated by the similar construction ki-gub-ba-ni in the preceding line. It is true that "inwardly" or "secretly" are not common translations of šà-bi, but they are by no means unlikely.

**Line 28**: inim here and in what follows comes close to the Hebrew *dabār*, "the matter," "die Sache." da-bi nu-tuku-a: Th. Jacobsen in

Alster (1972:124) suggested "a word that had no excuse," based on *CAD idu* B, assuming that this had a Sumerian forerunner. The context rather requires the literal translation "a word that had no side," i.e., it had no outer form of expression, because it was kept secret. Conspiracy was invented long before imperial Rome! In Mesopotamian context, conspiracies are well attested at the Neo-Assyrian courts, but to the best of my knowledge there are no Sumerian parallels to the phraseology used here and in line 27. Secret plans are well known from mythology, however, cf. the comments on the *Atrahasis Epic* in n. 16 below.

**Line 29**: igi-bi seems here to be used for the personal construction *igi-ni (cf. ll. 26 and 41, etc).

**Line 30**: Collation by Alster (1972:121, n. 9): "apparently -e, followed by an erasure." A close look at the last signs seems to suggest nu-*pa-pa-a? written over an erasure. This could be the verb zi—pa-aĝ, "to breathe," for which the meaning "he did not wisper it out (secretly)" may be suggested, in antithetic contrast to "did not speak it out (openly)" in the first part of the line. Alternatively the line might mean "he did not cry it out (loudly)." Whether zi—pa-áĝ is in fact the etymology of za-pa-áĝ is uncertain, but the etymology *zi-pa-áĝ, "breathing," from *napištu* would fit some occurrences better than za-pa-áĝ = *rigmu*, "cry." Cf. *SP* 2.41; 2.57 (Alster 1997:I 53; II 363–364); further Sefati (1998:214; inconclusive).

**Line 31**: inim šà-bi is here best taken as an indefinite genitive; that is, an anticipatory genitive that lacks the genitive marking of the antecedent, meaning "the secret matter" rather than "the secrecy of the matter." This is an indefinite variant of Poebel's "beschreibender Genitive."[3] Similar expressions of understanding something spontaneously are listed by Alster (1991:10–11).

**Line 32**: Cf. line 26 above.

**Line 33**: Kramer's translation of ĝìri mu-un-ru-gú, as "threatened(?) him" is unjustified. The expression probably means "to move by feet up against something," or similar. ru-gú is typically used of moving against a resistance, e.g., gaba ru-gú, said of a boat sailing upstream in SP 25.13 (Alster 1997:I 277). The same verb occurs in the terms ᵈíd-lú-ru-gú, the river of the ordeal, lit., "the river which opposes man," and ki-ru-gú, a kind of antiphon.

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[3] The comparison with the Turkish indefinite genitive was already made by Alster (1972:124, n. 42). For a detailed discussion, see now Alster (2002b).

**Line 36–37**: In neither of these lines does Abzu form part of a genitive construction, which would have required -a-ka instead of simply -/a/; cf. Kramer (1984:233, n. 19).

**Line 38**: Lit. "spoke him into." The grammatical construction indicates that the turtle is here understood as a personal class noun (-na-). I understand ki-lul-la-ke$_4$, lit., "the place of fraud," as "the treachery," i.e., the secret plan Enki had conceived in order to counteract Ninurta.

**Line 40**: eĝir-ra-ni sa-bi ba-da-an-dab$_5$: The easiest explanation is to understand this with a minimal emendation as an anticipatory genitive: */eĝir-ani-ak sa-bi/ <*eĝir-ra-na, "in the sinew of his behind," which evidently would be the Achilles heel. Alternatively eĝir-ra-ni is the unexpressed terminative, but in that case sa-bi is lacking an antecedent.

**Line 41**: ĝìri-bi ba-da-an-gi$_4$: one might take -bi as a mistake for the personal construction *ĝìri-ni, but it is also possible to understand this expression as referring to the feet of the turtle. gi$_4$ here probably means "turned," in the sense "stumbled." This is obvious in view of Enki's following hypocritical outburst.

**Line 43**: ĝìri-ni: Note also here the personal construction, cf. line 29. The contents of line 43 are logically expected to come just after line 39, which is a frequent stylistic feature. Line 43 functions as a description of the state conditioning the following line, almost like an Arabic ḥāl-sentence (cf. the comments on line 56 below).

**Line 45**: Possibly restore ur-saĝ-e ga-[galam-me]-ᵣen₁, "the hero (saying) 'let me come up' was ignored;" or restore like Alster (1972:121): ga-[ba(?)-r]a(?)-e$_{11}$-dè, "it ignored the hero (saying): 'let me get out.'" That there is no verb introducing the direct speech is a normal stylistic feature; cf. the comments on line 56.

**Line 46**: The restoration ĝì[ri umbin ĝìri-b]i was suggested by Kramer (1984:234), but it is not quite satisfactory. Perhaps restore simply ĝì[ri límmu-b]i, "with its four feet?"

**Line 48**: The second MU is best taken as a noun rather than as a verbal prefix: "(For you who had) returned [my] *me* from the mountains a name has been invoked," as frequent in royal inscriptions. This interpretation implies that Enki initially acknowledges the merit of what Ninurta has done. The reading might in fact have been abbreviated from mu <mu>-pà-dè. niĝin is an unusual expression for returning the *me*, but not an unlikely one; lit., "having (re)circulated [my] *me* from the mountains." The specific words used here may well be meant ironically, cf. the comments on line 54.

**Line 50**: Cf. collation by Alster (1972:125): "The first sign looks like KASKAL written over SUKKAL." Perhaps two $gi_4$ crossed = $gi_{16}$ is intended. If this is the case, it may simply be $pa_4$ with another sign written above it. I would suggest the reading $bil_x$ or $gil_x$ for the entire sign, reflecting the well known g/b variation discussed by Civil (1973a), also present in the name of Gilgames/$bil_4$-ga-mes. In this case the following sign bíl is simply a pronunciation gloss to the first, to be read: $bil_x$<sup>bíl</sup>. In spite of my earlier opinion (Alster 1972:124), $pa_4$-bíl-ga may well be intended, and this may possibly be a pun like that contained in the name of Gilgameš itself. Cf. the following line from *Martu's Marriage*, SEM 58, line 7: ad-da-ab-ba <sup>ĝiš</sup>eren kù-ga-me-en bìl-ga <sup>ĝiš</sup>meš-me-en, "I am the father of the fathers, the holy cedar, the sprout(?) of the meš-tree," which contains a similar pun. A meaning like "senior ancestor" or similar, might fit in our case.

Alster (1972:122), and Kramer (1984), erroneously took line 50 as referring to Ninurta, owing to a misinterpretation of gal-di as "to boast." In fact, gal-di = *šizkaru* from *zakāru*, Š, "renowned," referring to Enki.

For ĝá-ĝá : zi-zi, said, e.g., of the strings of a musical instrument or an entire song, cf. *UET* 6/1 22, obv. 34: me-e-dè šir i[m-z]i-zi-dè ⌜šìr⌝(?) [im-ĝá-ĝ]á-zé-en, "when we raise the song, you set the song"; cf. Alster (1985); *Šulgi B*; *SLTNi* 35 ii 12–13 (cf. Sefati 1998:230 with further refs.; *Ninkasi hymn* 26–27; Krecher 1966:61 viii 35–36). Enki's pompous words may be understood here in a concrete sense as referring to the flood—waves which Ninurta and Enki had evoked (similar to Gudea *Cylinder A* viii 23–24), but this is not necessarily the case.

**Line 54**: $e_{11}$: Collated, cf. Alster (1972:121, n. 12). e-ne-šè is phonetic for ì-ne-šè, *inanna*, "now." The value of the -da- infix in line 55 is similar to that of line 9. Kramer (1984:233), noted the fine irony: Ninurta is humiliated by being reminded of his victorious deeds in the mountains while he has fallen into a pit.

**Line 56**: Rending one's clothes is a traditional sign of mourning, cf. Alster (1983) and the examples quoted there. For túg with $bir_7$, cf. *Instr. Šuruppak 130*: gù-mur-re lú-lul-e túg ši-$bir_7$-$bir_7$-e (phon. var. zu-uš ši-bi-ir-bi-re, cf. Civil 1984:291: "the liar, shouting, tears up garments").

Line 56 is a descriptive statement of the circumstances conditioning the following sentence, like an Arabic *ḥāl*-sentence, typically expressed in the imperfective tense (cf. the comments on line 43 above). This is followed by direct speech in line 57 without the

proper introductory formula. This does not constitute a problem, being a normal stylistic feature in vivid passages in Sumerian texts (cf. ll. 15, 45, and 58).

**Line 57**: A reconstruction like z[a-(e)-ra] would fit the dative better, but za-e may safely be restored from line 60.

**Line 58**: ba-r[a²-mu]-un-gi₁₆-LÍL: Alster (1972:121) read gil-sa(?!), "let it not last." I would now rather connect this with *Gilgameš and Huwawa* 123 cited on p.124: saĝ mu-un-tuk₄-tuk₄ saĝ nam-da-gíd-gíd, "he shook his head and frowned," but precisely how is at present uncertain. We might perhaps expect: ba-r[a- . . .]-gi₁₆-ib¹. . . "it cannot be stopped" = "endlessly?" Cf. line 56 for the missing formula introducing direct speech.

**Line 59**: The reading gu[₇-g]u₇ is based on collation by Alster (1972:121, n. 12). Reading mu-bi-im suggested by Th. Jacobsen, see Alster (1972:125).

**Line 57–60**: For these lines, see the next section.

### The Naming Section

In line 57, Kramer (1984) understood ᵘug-gu₇-gu₇-ĝu₁₀-uš, written u₄-gu₇-gu₇ in line 59, as a reference to a grotesque episode in the myth of *Enki and Ninhursaĝ* (Attinger 1984), in which Enki becomes pregnant after eating some plants which, ultimately, were his own offspring. To relieve him of the resulting pain, Ninhursaĝ offered to act as midwife, with the result that a number of children came out of his body. Although Kramer's interpretation certainly points in the right direction, it is not necessary to seek the explanation in an allusion to one single text. The name is indeed loaded with allusions and ambiguities, but makes sense as it stands in itself. ᵘug-gu₇-gu₇-ĝu₁₀-uš seems to contain associations similar to ú-gu₇-gu₇, which is a key word in *The Ballade of Early Rulers*, line 21: ⌜níĝ-sa₆-ga⌝ diĝir-re-e-ne bí-in-šúm-ma-àm / ⌜ú⌝-⌜gu₇-gu₇⌝(var. + -ra) nam-ti ì-kíĝ-kíĝ, "For him who gives the good stuff of the gods, for him who provides food, life is found!"[4] This ending of the *Ballade of Early Rulers* alludes

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[4] Restored from *Níĝ-nam nu-kal* version C line 8: níĝ ⌜sa₆⌝-ga diĝir-re-e-ne bí-in-šúm-⌜ma²⌝-re, which is included on the same tablet as *The Ballade of Early Rulers* (CBS 1208) and to which it alludes. Details with photographs of the relevant sources are given in Alster (2005b:288–322).

to the Ziusudra motif, which occurs earlier in the text (line 11). The text is a typical creation of the scribal schools, in other words, of academic circles, and is made up by means of quotations mainly from "classical" Sumerian literary works. The result was an unusual humorous drinking song, in which the Ziusudra-motif was used as a pretext for celebrating a banquet. Our $^{ú}$ug-gu$_7$-gu$_7$-ĝu$_{10}$-uš (line 57) as well as u$_4$-gu$_7$-gu$_7$ (line 59) apparently alludes to related ideas.

In the spelling $^{ú}$ug-gu$_7$-gu$_7$-ĝu$_{10}$-uš (line 57) the sign U$_2$ may either be understood as a determinative for plant (that is, an interpretative indication of meaning), or as a pronunciation gloss indicating that the following sign is to be read ug, not piriĝ = *nēšu* "lion." In line 59: u$_4$-gu$_7$-gu$_7$, it becomes clear that the text deliberately puns on various implications of the name: u$_4$ is "day," but puns on ug "lion," undoubtedly meant as an epithet of Ninurta. This time it is followed by the phrase nu-dé-dé, which may mean actively "which/who does not pour out" or passively "to whom (something, i.e., food) is not poured out."

To whom do $^{ú}$ug-gu$_7$-gu$_7$-ĝu$_{10}$-uš and u$_4$-gu$_7$-gu$_7$ then refer? As suggested to me by Laura Feldt, these expressions make better sense if they refer to Ninurta rather than to Enki. Kramer took these as mocking names for Enki himself, but this is grammatically unlikely because in line 57 one would expect a dative (rather than the terminative) to agree with the verbal form mu-ra-an-túm. At any rate the terminative is suspicious as a reference to a person, even if derogatorily meant. The text itself suggests another clue: in line 59 nu-dé-dé may either refer to Enki to whom food will not be served, or to the one who is expected to provide Enki with food, that is, to Ninurta.[5] If the latter is the case, line 57 may mean "as to my *Ugugu*", and line 59: "'*Ugugu* who does not serve food' is the name for it".

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[5] Enki is here named in emesal: Amanki. Whether a pun is intended is a question that for the time being cannot be answered, but it is probable. Remarkably, it is the situation as such that is being named, rather than a god. It may be more likely that the name is given to a concrete object in commemoration of Ninurta's deeds. One may even go as far as to suggest that the named object was presented on the occasion of a joyous banquet during which the satirical account of Ninurta's deeds was told to the amusement of the participants, in other words—it may have been a part of the slain Young Anzu—its beak?—or even the shield of the turtle used as a drinking goblet. However, for the time being, this is pure speculation. On the *Stele of the vultures* the slain Anzu-bird serves as a handle of a huge net in which the defeated enemies are gathered. In *Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven*, the horns of the Bull of Haven are turned into drinking goblets (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993).

The initial ug or u$_4$, punning on ú "food" and ug "lion," may well refer to an epithet of Ninurta. I would then suggest that in line 57 -šè does not have a vague meaning, such as "as to," but more specifically means "instead of." Ninmah reminds Enki of Ninurta's function as a provider of food, implicitly threatening him with merciless death if he lets Ninurta stay in the miserable situation into which the tale has led him. Whom should she send instead of him? The situation is classic in Mesopotamian mythology: if the gods loose their providers, they will starve. This explains the reference to herself in line 57 "My *Ugugu*." Her son Ninurta is what links her own interests with those of Enki. Ninurta is not only a mighty warrior, but also a great farmer, and his products are what both of them need.

It is curious, but hardly coincidental, that line 59 does not speak explicitly of a person's name, such as Enki's or Ninurta's, but phrases this impersonally as "'Enki' is not the name for it, 'Ugugu not being served' is the name for it."[6]

The naming episode with which the text ends clearly alludes in an ironic manner to such naming episodes as are well known from mythological literature from many linguistic areas; within Mesopotamian context one may think of the naming of the mother goddess in *Lugal-e* and in the *Atrahasis Epic*. This is more than a curious detail. The naming of a person in such cases coincides with the assumption of a new role or the recognition of a new stage in his or her life.[7]

## *Is This a Theological Treatise or a Literary Work?*

We may now approach a difficult question: why is it Enki who assumed the role as the main god, rather than Enlil as expected?

Enlil's role as the superior god is attested as far back as the Temple Hymns from Abu Ṣālābīkh, whereas Enki only appears under the

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[6] That Ninurta was a provider of food comes best to expression in the composition *The Fields of Ninurta*, (see Civil 1973b:171 n. 3) attested in Ur III copies and later. In that text Ninurta is admittedly connected with Enlil rather than with Enki, but his role must have been similar when related to Enki, as appears from *Ninurta's Journey to Eridu* (Falkenstein 1959; Reisman 1971).

[7] Cf. Jacobsen (1978); Alster (2002a). This may be compared to similar naming practices in China and among the American Indians.

name Nudimmud, long after Enlil.[8] Similarly, in the so-called Barton Cylinder the foremost deities are Enlil, Ninhursaga and Ninurta (Alster and Westenholz 1994). This is not the only picture, however. In the hymn *Ninurta's Journey to Eridu* (Falkenstein 1959, Reisman 1971) Enki plays the role of the god superior to Ninurta.[9] One may ascribe this situation to historical circumstances in which Enki temporarily gained preponderance over Enlil. Yet, Enki's position in our text may also be a result of literary creativity. Enki was far better suitable for making a good entertaining story than Enlil; in comparison with Enki, Enlil was a rather brute and one-sided ruler, whereas Enki was colorful and possessed all the qualities needed to make an exiting story. He was able to look through Ninurta's aspirations, even without being told a word. He could play ignorant although he had already looked through things, and he could device such amusing traps as make our text so delightful. Enki's role as the friendly helper of mankind is most clearly exemplified in the *Atrahasis Epic*.[10]

Is it fair, then, to say that our text has the character of a piece of literature, more than of a theological treatise? The answer is in the affirmative. A closer look at the plot will corroborate this impression.

### *Parodia Sacra in Sumerian Literature*

A brief discussion of the term *me*, which occurs in lines 2 and 4, will further clarify the nature of the text. Among translations suggested

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[8] Abu Ṣalābikh temple hymns, *OIP* 99, p. 47, line 32: en ᵈnu-te-mud = ᵈnu-dím-mud, first recognized by J. Bauer, Altotientalische Notizen 3, p. 6.

[9] Kramer in his study "Enki and his Inferiority complex" (Kramer 1970) advocates the view that it was Enki, and not Enlil, who was the intruder seeking to gain dominance over the other, contrary to the most commonly held view. At one important point his arguments fail to carry conviction. On pp. 108–109 he argues that Enki's jealousy of Enlil led him to confound the speech of mankind and so "break up the unanimity with which he was worshipped and adorned." This would be contrary to all we know about Enki, who always was helpful towards mankind (cf. n. 16). Kramer here refers to the so-called "Babel of tongues" episode of *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, which was explained very differently by Alster (1973) and subsequently by Vanstiphout (1994). Fortunately, ETCSL has now adopted this interpretation. The point is the opposite of the generally held opinion: Enki unified all mankind by making them address Enlil in *one* language, that is, in Sumerian. This is likely to reflect the aspirations of Šulgi's empire, and does not represent a "Babel of tongues."

[10] Cf. n. 16 below.

are functions or invisible features such as "göttliche Kräfte" (A. Falkenstein), rites, rituals (based on Akk. *parṣu*), divine "offices" (Th. Jacobsen), and "powers" (Edzard 1997). Other suggestions are more concrete, such as emblem; even the divine dress and jewels of the goddess Inanna, etc., have been considered. The existing Sumerian list of the *me* includes a number of mainly cultural or cultic functions.[11] In my opinion it is important to bear in mind that *me* can be *visible*, and that they can denote *both a function and a concrete object that symbolizes that function*. The *me* mostly are said to come from the Abzu, from where Inanna brought them to her city Uruk. The *me* are never said to have been created by any particular god. It rather seems that the *me* were a kind of raw material available to the gods who could avail themselves of them, so to speak, as if they were magicians able to control them with varying degrees of competence. As such the *me* are mostly connected with Enki in Eridu.

In the present case, it seems that the *me* also comprise the ĝiš-hur and the tablet of destiny, which thus are merely mentioned for more detailed exemplification.[12] In translating the *me* as "symbols of power," I attempt to use a translation that is fitting in this text, but do not claim that that translation would be suitable in every instance where the term occurs.

I would not dare to point to any single symbol that might fit in the present text as a representation of world power, but of course, it also entailed the right to occupy the seat of the ruler, and to behave like him.

The amazing fact remains that the most fitting parallel one can think of is the Ring in Wagner's *Die Ring des Niebelungen*. Rather than searching for definite solutions, I would suggest that the symbolism of our text operates on much the same level as Wagner's. It is up

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[11] Cf. Farber-Flügge (1987–1990). In English, *me* is best rendered as a collective plural, the *me*, as always used by S. N. Kramer, not "the *me*'s," or similar.

[12] ĝiš-hur occurs in line 3 and literally means something incised, drawn; in other words, "plans" is a fitting translation. dub-nam-tar-ra, "the tablet of destiny," occurs in line 4, restored from obv. 4: dub-nam-tar-ra-ĝu$_{10}$ of the Ur duplicate quoted above. Kramer (1984:232, n. 11), in this case considers them synonymns. This is not the place to enter a detailed discussion of the symbolism of the tablet of destiny, which recurs in later concepts of a celestial book in which the deeds of all mankind are recorded. A discussion of the relations between *me* and grammatical elements such as the existential verb, -me(-en), etc., is outside the scope of the present study.

to the producer of the musical drama how to visualize Wagner's symbolism on a stage. Our text is a product of literature on much the same level. In Wagner's *Ring* Wotan, Alberich, Fasoldt and Faffner, Mime and Loke, Siegmund, Siegfried, Hunding and Hagen, Fricka, Freya, Brynhilde and Gutrune play the major roles before an operatic audience. They are here represented by Enki, Ninurta, Young Anzu, and Ninmena. In Wagner's cycle the Ring finally returns to the Rhine from where it came, a bit like the *me* returning to the Abzu. So the question is, to whom was the story told and on which occasion?

The most plausible answer seems to be that this story was told by literates who could make use of older stories and combine them in unexpected ways. These men were critical to warfare and heroic strength, and did not hesitate to make their heroes appear in comical situations. Where could such a text have been created? As a remarkable example of literary creativity it only fits the Sumerian scribal schools of the Isin-Larsa period.

Is this a parody? Yes and no; the answer depends on how parody is understood. Even if this is parody, it still has a serious purpose, warning that all ambitions are relative, and are always counteracted by the ambitions of others. In other words, it is a true drama on a Wagnerian scale. If the rest of the composition had been known, chances are that the entire plot might have followed some of the same patterns, involving more deities struggling for world power.

Given the parodic features of our text the question must be raised how serious this was meant to be. This question must be seen in the light of the tendency of Greek mythology to make gods appear in comical situations. Did the Greeks really believe what they told about their gods?[13] The answer seems to be that such myths had become part of literature, and so to some extent detached from religious beliefs, and that such tales were believed only when told as such through the code pertaining to literary art. The same may probably be said of much of Sumerian mythology. Our text was primarily a literary phenomenon, a tale told for the sake of amusement before a sympathetically disposed audience.

The following Sumerian texts in particular are relevant for the issue of divine parody: 1) a number of texts related to the goddess

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[13] Cf. Veyne (1983).

Inanna. 2) The present composition, related to Ninurta. 3) The so-called *Gudam* text. 4) Certain features in the Sumerian text of *Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven* also come to mind.[14]

There is no simple answer to the question of the nature of such texts, because parodic and comical features are common in sacred religious ceremonies all over the world. A clue is given by the divine laughter which in many mythologies marks the release of tensions in situations of grave conflicts.[15] A remarkable example occurs in the *Atrahasis Epic*, II vi 17–18: [ᵈ*en-ki*] *ītašuš ašābam* / [*ina p*]*uhri ša ilī ṣih-tum īkulšu* (cf. vi 15–16), "Enki got fed up with remaining sitting (scl. quietly, listening to Enlil's reproaches); in the assembly of the gods he guffawed!" The situation is classic: Enlil accuses Enki of having helped mankind to survive, but Enki simply outmaneuvers him by reminding him publicly of the ludicrous way in which he was tricked by Enki's overwhelmingly superior cunning. In this situation, all Enlil could do is tacitly acknowledge his defeat; otherwise he would make a complete fool of himself.[16] This does not mean that the entire *Atrahasis Epic* is a parody of Enlil, but these features were an important part of the plot.

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[14] No comprehensive treatment of satirical features in Sumerian mythology exists as yet, but a number of observations have been made by Alster (2004); see also Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993), *passim*, and Limet (2002), esp. p. 114.

[15] A classic example occurs in the *Homeric hymn to Demeter*, in which great tension is relieved at a crucial moment when Persephone is led to laugh (line 370). The comparison with a grotesque episode of *Inanna's Descent* is obvious: the scene of Ereškigal wailing like a women giving birth while the *galaturra* and *kurgarra* imitate her cries to express sympathy can hardly have been meant very seriously (cf. Alster 1983). Less known is a telling example from Nordic mythology: In Snorre Sturluson's *Edda*, a peace treaty between the *Asa*-gods and the *Jætte*-gods (giants, a bit like Fasoldt and Faffner) is concluded on condition that the Asa-gods could make the goddess Skade (a bit like Brynhilde) laugh while she intended to avenge her father. Although this was considered impossible, it was accomplished by Loke (the proto-type of Wagner's Loge), who bound one end of a band to a goat's beard and the other end to his own testicles. When he let himself fall into her lap, the effect was so comical that she laughed. See also Sauren (1988).

[16] The gods, including Enki, were bound by an oath not to help mankind, but when lack of water became a serious problem Adad let humidity come through "furtively" (II ii 33), that is, not openly as plain rain but disguised as mist and dew (II ii 30–31). Then, when all water was barred from the sea, Enki let the *lahmū* (who controlled the bolts of the sea) release the bolts that barred the sea. This crucial point appears from BE 39099 rev. ii 5 (in Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasīs*, p. 118), to be read with Wiggermann (1992:164) *làh-mi-ka*; cf. also Wiggermann (1981–82).

We do not know whether the parodic features in *Ninurta and the Turtle* were merely satirical episodes in a larger Ninurta composition, or whether the whole text was meant to be a parody of Ninurta.

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# IN PRAISE OF THE KINGS OF LARSA

## Nicole Brisch

It is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to contribute to this volume in honor of Herman Vanstiphout, the eminent scholar of Sumerian literature. Among his many contributions to the field there are several discussions of the genre of Sumerian royal hymns—also referred to as praise poems—which we might consider to be the most notorious kind of Sumerian literature. Scholars who attempt to structure the specimens of this very heterogeneous group of poems, and try to reconstruct its underlying generic system are faced with a task as difficult as putting "Humpty-Dumpty in his place again." The analytical problems are partly driven by the fact that the ancient Mesopotamians did not leave us a comprehensive theory of genres in their literature, and the fragmentary and eclectic transmission of these compositions represents an additional hurdle that the modern scholar must overcome. This is not the place to discuss fully the different approaches, terms, and classifications that scholars have put forth over time.[1] However, I would like to revisit the question of genre in Sumerian royal hymns in light of Vanstiphout's insightful and thought-provoking contributions to the topic (especially 1986; 1999) by considering the Larsa royal hymns both as works of literature in and of themselves, as well as in their literary historical context. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to the literature discussed here as royal hymns or praise poetry, though the Larsa royal hymns have also been referred to as "prayers."

I begin by briefly surveying the currently known Larsa royal hymns. This will entail a short discussion of some problems that result from such an attempt, because even the task of identifying and classifying compositions as either hymns or inscriptions poses some problems. At present, we know of fourteen Sumerian royal hymns that

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were written for four rulers of the Larsa dynasty. In addition, we
have an obscure excerpt of a hymn, three possible fragments, and
three Akkadian exemplars. The latter have not been edited in full,
and one of the Sumerian Larsa hymns remains unpublished.[2]

Perhaps the most apparent identifying features of Sumerian royal
hymns are subscripts and liturgical notations—the latter are also
referred to as rubrics—which the ancients presumably employed to
classify and structure these hymnic compositions. These features also
appear in the hymnal literature written in praise of deities. Subscripts
either specify the type of song to which the composition belongs, or
represent the name of a musical instrument (for example, balaĝ
"drum") that may have been used to accompany the lyrics. They
are generally considered typical for the royal praise poetry of the
Ur III and Isin dynasties. For the Larsa dynasty, we know of only
three, possibly four, praise poems ending with traditional subscripts
and rubrics;[3] the majority of their poems contain either no subscripts
at all or a new subscript, RN lugal-mu "O RN, my king," which
later became more popular in the Sumerian praise poetry of the
kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The poems with the new sub-
script have been referred to as "prayers" (another ill-defined cate-
gory of Sumerian literature) because they consist of supplications to
deities on behalf of the ruler. This in itself is nothing new. Some of
the Ur III and Isin hymns written in praise of deities also contained
prayers for the king, but generally these hymns follow a relatively
rigid structure that consists of specific subscripts and rubrics. By con-
trast, the new Larsa "prayers" have a completely different structure
that contains no rubrics at all, and ends in the new "Larsaite" sub-
script or contains no subscript at all.

The Larsa rulers for whom hymns are attested are Gungunum,
Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-iqīšam, and Rīm-Sîn. Gungunum and Sîn-iqīšam
are represented by one hymn each, Sîn-iddinam by four,[4] and Rīm-

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Sîn by eight hymns plus the above-mentioned excerpt and the fragments. These numbers, however, also depend on how one defines a royal hymn, and there is some disagreement among scholars about the classification of certain compositions. Some seem to contain features of both hymns and inscriptions, and there are indeed several texts that have been classified as both.[5] Originally, royal inscriptions were thought to be compositions that were written on monuments and that contained curse formulas, but we now know that some hymns most likely were carved on stone monuments in addition to having been used as school texts (Ludwig 1990:75, Tinney 1995:12–13). The number of compositions of contested classification is small, but it still shows that in some cases the boundaries between what we recognize as two different genres of literature may have been fluid, or that the ancients may have used other criteria for distinguishing between two different kinds of literature.

In the following discussion I shall highlight some of the hymns of Sîn-iddinam and Rīm-Sîn, whose praise poems are most unusual. In one of Sîn-iddinam's poems the new subscript RN lugal-mu appears for the first time,[6] and thus represents the first instance of departure from the traditional models of royal hymnography. Another poem uses the well-known motif of Nanna/Su'en journey to Nippur with first-fruit offerings to obtain Enlil's benevolence.[7] The composition, which has no rubrics or subscripts, is attested in two manuscripts–one from Ur and one of unknown provenience. It is extremely difficult to understand: the two versions differ considerably, and the grammar and lexicon, especially of the Ur manuscript, are also problematic. The composition *Sîn-iddinam B*, attested on an incomplete six-column tablet from Ur, (for an edition, see Brisch 2003:175–84), mentions divine favors for the king as well. The deities that are mentioned are Nanna, Utu, Iškur, and possibly Nidaba. The appearance

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*and Iškur*. The tablet was first edited by Michalowski (1988) and is now available as *RIME* 4.2.9.15. I have excluded it from the corpus of royal hymns, because the text contains royal epithets, which only appear in royal inscriptions but not in hymns and because it bears no structural similarities to other hymns attested for this king.

[5] The contested classifications include the compositions *Šulgi V, Išme-Dagan A, Išme-Dagan AA, Išme-Dagan S, Sîn-iddinam E*, and *Sîn-iddinam and Iškur*.

[6] *Sîn-iddinam D*, see n. 2 above. Not much is known about this text except that it appears to be a collection of prayers.

[7] *Sîn-iddinam A* (for a new edition, which separates the two versions, see Brisch 2003:169–74).

of Iškur here is significant, because this deity was also very promi-
nent in Sîn-iddinam's royal inscriptions (Richter 2004:377–80). *Sîn-iddinam B* contains neither rubrics nor subscripts in the preserved
portions of the text.

Many more poems are preserved for Rīm-Sîn, and not all of them
can be discussed here in full. Most remarkable are several hymns
with the new subscript (*Rīm-Sîn C, D, E, F*, and *G*). Charpin
(1986:280–302) suggested that poems D, F, and G form a cycle
describing a royal procession through the Ekišnugal, Nanna's tem-
ple at Ur. According to him, these hymns were composed on the
occasion of a royal visit to that city, and their "ad hoc" character
becomes clear when considering that most of the compositions were
only attested in single manuscripts from Ur (Charpin 1986:301–2).[8]
Even if these three poems did indeed form a cycle, the remaining
two compositions, *Rīm-Sîn C* and *E*, would not fit into this supposed
series as their action does not seem to take place in the Ekišnugal.
It is not even certain whether *Rīm-Sîn E* describes rituals taking place
in a temple. Incidentally, the latter is also the only one of Rīm-
Sîn's poems that is attested in a small fragment from Nippur.[9] As
the argumentation for the ad hoc character was largely based on
the attestation of this king's hymns in only one manuscript each, the
existence of the Nippur fragment may force us to reconsider this
hypothesis.

All of the praise songs share at least one motif, a description of
the king fulfilling his cultic duties. These royal duties would have
represented an important part in royal ideology and the ideology of
the divine king.[10] To my mind, this is a significant factor that has
so far been neglected in the attempts to understand these complex
and difficult poems.

Both Vanstiphout and Tinney have emphasized the importance
of genre histories for a successful uncovering and understanding of

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[8] Nevertheless, that the Larsa hymns were largely attested in only one manu-
script may also be in large part due to the chance of preservation. Therefore, this
is not necessarily a decisive argument for the "charactère occasionel" (Charpin
1986:302) of these poems.

[9] N 3089; see Brisch (2003:243–57) for a new edition of this hymn.

[10] The complex topic of divine kingship in the Old Babylonian period needs to
be restudied. Thus, while it is clear that Rīm-Sîn's name was written with the divine
determinative from his 22nd year of reign onwards, it is not clear how far-reach-
ing the consequences of his self-divinization were.

genres in a literature as ancient as Sumerian.[11] When looking at the entire corpus of Sumerian royal hymnography, some general tendencies become visible. Although the native terminology for royal praise poems has often been discounted as not useful for the modern studies of genres, there are some indications that the native designations of songs were not as random as may appear. Some scholars (Ludwig 1990:34 n. 45; Suter 2000:156) have held that it is impossible distinguish between the terms $en_3$/$en_8$-du "song" and $šir_3$ "song." However, the designations $en_3$/$en_8$-du or $en_3$-du lugal "royal song" never appear in the actual subscripts of hymns but only occur as general, overarching designations of praise songs, which could include praises for deities and for temples as well. Terms such as $šir_3$ or balaĝ are used in subscripts, and may therefore refer to a more specific sub-category of songs. Tinney (1996:14) has pointed out that ethnic or native genres could be distinguished according to prosodic, thematic, or behavioral characteristics. Whether such characteristics may have influenced the Mesopotamian system of literary genres is difficult to determine. It is possible, for example, that the difference in meaning between $en_3$/$en_8$-du and $šir_3$ may have been of a historical or ritual nature, but this cannot be established at the moment.

The subscripts that occur most often in royal hymns are a-da-ab, balaĝ, tigi, and $za_3$-$mi_2$. All of these, with the possible exception of $za_3$-$mi_2$ "praise(-song)," probably initially designated musical instruments: a-da-ab compositions are hymns in praise of deities that always contain blessings for the ruler (Reisman 1970:9); tigi and balaĝ hymns are apparently divine hymns that may or may not contain a blessing for the ruler; and songs in which the $za_3$-$mi_2$ subscript appears can be written in praise of both deities and kings (Reisman 1970:39–40). Another group of subscripts seems to identify the compositions as varieties of $šir_3$ "songs:" $šir_3$ $gid_2$-da "long song," $šir_3$ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂ "warrior song," and so on.[12] These subscripts also occur in divine

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[11] Vanstiphout (1986:1), Tinney (1996:15–16). The emphasis on genre histories, however, is problematic, because it often leads to evolutionary approaches in the study of genres, which focus on their diachronic aspects while, for example, neglecting their behavioral or functional contexts. Moreover, a development of a genre does not necessarily have to be understood in terms of "birth, life, death" as laid out by Vanstiphout (1986:1) or should not have to be described in terms of rise and decline. It is nevertheless of utmost importance to study the history of a literary genre.

[12] For other subscripts see Wilcke (1975:258) and Ludwig (1990:29).

hymns that sometimes contain blessings for kings. From this very abbreviated overview, we can see that the division of hymns into subgroups of divine, royal, or others is modern, and was probably not recognized by the Mesopotamians. Their native designations consist of either names of instruments that may have been used for musical accompaniment or specify a certain type of song (šir$_3$). Similarly, it appears that in some cases the categorization of texts into royal hymns or royal inscriptions is arbitrary as well, because some cases seem to belong in either category.

Other tendencies can be determined when comparing more general trends of royal praise poetry of the Ur III, the Isin, and the Larsa kings.[13] While certain types, for example songs that were written in praise of deities that include blessings for the king, are attested for all the three dynasties; other compositions only appear in one dynasty and not in others. An example for the latter is the category of "hymnal epics" (Klein 1981:9–14), also referred to as "Königsepen" (Wilcke 1992), which is only attested for kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur-Namma and Šulgi). Other differences can be seen in that the majority of Ur III royal poems are either praise texts or self-laudatory hymns, but that only a few of these are attested for the rulers of Isin, and that no self-laudatory hymns are known for the Larsa kings. Most of the Isin royal poems praise deities and include blessings for the king, and many of the Larsa hymns, as mentioned above, show a different structure of composition through the absence of subscripts and rubrics.

A word of caution should be added: recent studies of the social context of Sumerian literary texts as didactic materials in Old Babylonian schools have shown that the majority of the tablets were probably written, that is copied, around the second half of Rīm-Sîn's reign and the first part of Samsuiluna's rule, thus giving us only a very brief glimpse into the literary school curriculum at the time (Michalowski 2003). It is significant that the royal hymns, which describe a super-human image of the (divine) king as exemplified in the famous hymns of Šulgi, are all about kings who were long dead by the time the students copied them. The form in which they have

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[13] The tendencies are, however, very general, because the royal hymns in the widest sense are very heterogeneous.

been transmitted into the Old Babylonian period does not reflect poetic images of historical personalities, but describes characteristics and traits that transcend the "body natural" of the king and immortalize the "body politic"—to borrow Ernst Kantorowicz's (1957) terminology—the essence of kingship that outlasts the human body. Conversely, contemporary or recently deceased kings such as Rīm-Sîn, Hammurabi, and Samsuiluna were extolled in a different kind of literature, one that emphasizes the king's favorable relationship to the gods, especially his fulfillment of cult duties, rather than the king's eminent physical and mental prowess.

Two questions arise: why these differences, and what is their meaning? It will be impossible to answer these questions here in full, but I hope to contribute a few preliminary answers.

If we believe that the Sumerian royal hymns, as preserved in the school texts of the Old Babylonian period, are revised versions of more or less faithful copies of earlier compositions, we must assume that the style in which hymns were composed underwent substantial changes, that certain sub-genres, such as hymnal epics, went out of fashion, while new ones, such as the ones of the type RN lugal-mu, were created and gradually became more popular. In this case, the royal literature would have been subject to an original, innovative spirit, which led to the transformations discussed above. A supporting argument for this proposal might be found in studying the general development of royal inscriptions of the Old Babylonian period. Inscriptions of the Isin dynasty are often brief and to the point, while the inscriptions of the rulers of Larsa and Babylon developed a narrative style, which often includes "historical" details. This clearly shows that certain categories of Sumerian literature could indeed be subject to change and innovation, and it is therefore possible that the royal hymns equally underwent stylistic changes in the course of several centuries.

The Larsa royal hymns in particular, which represent the first instances of the change and innovation in this literature, show that the learned scribes found a new form of expressing essentially the same arguments that were considered important for rulers of previous dynasties: maintaining the favor of the gods. The scribes achieved this by retaining some of the traditional motifs and discontinuing others. Writers never compose works of literature in a historical vacuum, but are as much part of their literary history as they are free to choose between different "modes" of writing (Barthes 1967

[1953]:16). The gradual transformation of the genre of Sumerian royal praise poetry during the Larsa dynasty illustrates this point well by showing the changes due to innovation while at the same time being confined by tradition.

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# A HODGEPODGE OF SNIPPETS:
## SOME THOUGHTS ON NARRATIVE NOW AND THEN

### A. J. Ferrara

> The Time is out of joint. O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right.
>
> <div align="right">Hamlet</div>

In the knave's trial over which the King and Queen of Hearts presided, we are told that the king directed the White Rabbit to read a set of verses that had been discovered in court and would be considered as evidence (Carroll 1992:182). The White Rabbit did not know how to proceed and the King, typical of tribunals, rather tersely instructed him regarding the main boundaries of poetic narrative and its scansion:

> Begin at the beginning, the king said gravely, and go
> on till you come to the end: then stop.

Would that we could but simply follow the royal directive when it comes to reading Sumerian narrative poetry and *inter alia*, parsing its "times." But then the King *was* referring to recently penned English verse that was found during the course of legal proceedings. One can only wonder what the royal prescriptive would have been for the lection of Sumerian poetic narrative that on occasion, can be less than whole and less than clear (Black 1998:20).[1] Notwithstanding its brevity, the royal gambit touched as well on one level, the problem of time and its expression—a major concern of narratology. For sometime and somewhere between "once upon a time" and "they lived happily ever after," the traditional initial and terminal boundaries of narrative discourse, narratology set up shop and as a part of the critical landscape for a good part of the twentieth century, has developed into "one of the most tangible, coherent and precise

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[1] See Black's apt characterization: "dead, alien, fragmentary, undatable and authorless" and his discussion of what makes it so (Black 1998:20–49).

areas of expertise in literary and cultural studies" (Currie 1998:1).[2]
Notwithstanding this favorable appraisal, critiques of narrative analy-
sis have noted some of its methodological deficiencies and episte-
mological weaknesses and some critics have been quick to point these
out as examples of its moribund and wanting state. Others regard
these characteristics as little more than marking a transition from
narratology's earlier setting in Continental Structuralism and as the
methodological flux of its response and accommodation to post-
modern criticisms. Whether we consider narratology as a dead let-
ter or as a constantly evolving critical approach, its applicability to
Mesopotamian literary materials as "dead letters" may be consid-
ered as just beginning. Various aspects of narrative analysis and iso-
lated insights derived from it have been examined and discussed by
several scholars: repetitive blocks (Vanstiphout 1992), frames and
framing devices (Black 1992), lineation and lines of verse (Vanstiphout
1993) and the grammar of discourse (Averbeck 1998). A full-scale
narrative analysis of a complete composition has recently been
advanced for the Gudea Cylinders (Suter 2000) and four Enki myths
have been analyzed from a more traditional structuralist viewpoint
(Limet 1989). Each study in its own way has demonstrated the util-
ity and benefits of such an analytical approach.

   None however, have yet addressed the problems that confronted
Th. Jacobsen who must have felt something of the White Rabbit's
frustration when he struggled with the apparent chronological chaos
presented by the prelude to a mythical extract in *Gilgameš, Enkidu
and the Netherworld* and called by him "Enki's Descent" (Jacobsen
1993).[3] For purposes of this discussion, the first thirteen lines of the
composition are presented here in Jacobsen's reading and translation:[4]

   1. ud-ri-a ud-sud-rá-ri-a
   2. ĝe$_6$-ri-a ĝe$_6$-bad-rá-ri-a

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[2] For recent and convenient introductions to narratology in addition to Currie,
see Martin (1986); Gibson (1996) and Onega and García Landa (1996).
   [3] The extract is found in lines 11–26 of *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* for
which see Shaffer (1963:48–9). According to Jacobsen, lines 1–10 constitute a mythic
prelude.
   [4] Cf. Shaffer (1963:48–9); Streck (2002:194–5); Black (1992:95) who omits lines
6–7 (Appendix B).

  3. mu-ri-a mu-sud-rá-ri-a
  4. ud-ul ninda-du$_7$-e pa-è-a-ba
  5. ud-ul ninda-du$_7$-e mí-zi-du$_{11}$-ga-a-ba
  6. èš-kalam-ma-ka ninda-šú-a-ba
  7. im-šu-rin-na kalam-ma-ka níĝ-tab-ak-a-ba
  8. an ki-ta ba-da-bad-rá-a-ba
  9. ki an-ta ba-da-sur-ra-a-ba
10. mu-nam-lú-ulu$_3$$^{lu}$ ba-an-ĝar-ra-a-ba
11. ud an-ne an ba-an-de$_6$-a-ba
12. $^d$En-líl-le ki ba-an-de$_6$-a-ba
13. $^d$Ereš-ki-gal-la-ra kur-ra saĝ-rig$_7$-bé-éš im-ma-ab-rig$_7$-a-ba

  1. In bygone days, in far off bygone days,
  2. in bygone nights, in remote, bygone nights,
  3. in bygone years, in far off, bygone years,
  4. the primeval days when proper bread made (its) appearance,
  5. the primeval days when proper bread was carefully prepared,
  6. when bread was eaten in the country's temple manors,
  7. when fires were lit in the country's bread ovens,
  8. when heaven was removed from earth,
  9. when earth was separated from heaven,
10. when the denomination "mankind" was established,
11. the days when An carried off heaven,
12. when Enlil carried off earth,
13. and when he (i.e. Enki) was given (as slave) to Ereškigal as
     Netherworld dowry.

In his attempt to recover the original opening lines of the embed-
ded myth, Jacobsen observed (1993:122):

> . . . we have two settings . . . lines 1–10 where it forms part of the intro-
> duction to the larger composition "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the
> Netherworld" and one later in which Inanna retells it as part of her
> plea to Utu for help. The former of these settings consists of a hodge-
> podge of snippets of introductions to other tales which the rhapsode
> threw together haphazardly as they came to mind.

Based upon his assessment, he concluded that lines 1–10 were not
the original beginning of the mythic fragment. Jacobsen opted instead
for lines 52–53 of *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld*, preserved in
*UET* 6/1 55, 53–54 as being the more original and appropriate

beginning (Jacobsen 1993:122);[5] thus calling to mind the narrato-
logical insight that in any but the simplest plot structure *some* tem-
poral information is required for prospective encounters with the
ordering of events and story sequences. This is so given narratol-
ogy's preoccupation with time as *chronos* (Gibson 1996:181) because
comprehension of the narrative "now" or "then" requires at the very
least some temporal index outside the narrative itself (Martin 1986:86).[6]
Narratology's focus on time as *chronos* reflects in part, what Brooks
has described as a "refusal to allow temporality to be meaningless"
by the construction of "a coherent and interpretive relation between
'events' (real or imagined) and their significant ordering" (Brooks
1992:321; 323) and possibly provides a clue to what might have lain
behind Jacobsen's difficulties. Two related, albeit quite different aspects
of time may have confounded the problem: *chronos*, which represents
a dimension of time that is closed and can be measured and *aion*
which is open and limitless (Gibson 1996:177–84).[7] In any event,
Jacobsen's rejection of an "inappropriate" beginning demonstrated
in practice what had been acknowledged theoretically for quite some
time, that a narrative reading of a text is a meaning-constitutive act
in its own right. But what was it about lines 1–10 that prompted
him to exercise caution and to describe them in almost Jabberwockian
terms as a hodgepodge of snippets thrown together haphazardly?

As it stands, the sequence of primordial events presented by lines
1–10 as the introduction to the Enki myth and the lines immedi-
ately following, 11–13, appear internally as achronic or anachronic
(depending upon how the individual lines are construed *in pari mate-
ria*), in that their order of occurrence is indeterminate, albeit some-
what inferable (Bal 1997:80–81). Probably what made Jacobsen
hesitant to accept the order as presented in the text and what
prompted his remarks had to do with the apparent random mix of

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[5] Jacobsen (1993:122): . . . ud-ri-a na-ám ba-tar-ra-a-ba ud hé-ma-al-la ka-na-ám-
<mà> ba-e-zal-a-ri, "In bygone days when the ways of being were being decided
on, After you (Utu) had made days of plenty dawn in the land;" cf. Shaffer (1963)
lines 53–53 || 96–97.

[6] "As an undifferentiated flow of successive events, time does not exist. For the
events to be 'successive' some concept must be positioned outside the flow that will
enable us to compare them."

[7] See Gibson's discussion (1996:177–84) and the references cited there. For the
eternal dimension of *aion*, see Plato, *Timaeus*, 36–8. For a fascinating discussion from
a physicist's point of view, see Barbour (1999).

reported cosmic events and his response to these—what Brooks has referred to as "the rescue of meaning from passing time" by employing narrative as a "recovery of the past" (Brooks 1992:321). With respect to lines 4–10, should these lines or line units be rearranged following Jacobsen's recommendations and in a manner similar to what narratological analysis yields for the beginning lines of the Iliad, providing us moderns with a series of causes and effects and what Todorov has termed a plot of predestination (Todorov 1977:65; Genette 1980:36–7; Bal 1997:85)?[8] Given a Sumerian *science du concret*, described by Larsen as reflecting an additive and aggregative logic, arguably no one Sumerian literary composition dealing in narrative fashion with cosmological matters will furnish us with an explicit cosmological-temporal typology that holds good for all times and places and will satisfy our craving for *chronos* (Larsen 1987:211). Creative acts, so ably discussed by Pettinato (1971), appear to reflect a progression of events from general to specific, similar to what we find in certain exorcistic rites, omens and several cosmological statements and inserted as preludes to very specific facts that constitute the focus of the exorcism, omen or story being told: "DN created heaven, heaven created earth, earth created rivers . . ." and so on until the topic of concern is reached. This progression from general to specific is quite similar in structure to that which obtains in apodoses-protases sequences so characteristic of much of Mesopotamian learned literature (Bottéro 1992:116; 132). A compelling case can be made that in each and every instance this progression does not follow what we moderns would require from a chronological statement or a causally connected sequence in the strictest sense.

Jacobsen maintained that the events related in the prelude to the Enki myth were presented as "successive and connected in one way or another" with the halub-tree's discovery by Inanna and its subsequent fortunes (Jacobsen 1993:120): its replanting in her orchard, providing materials for her chair and bed, as well as furnishing materials for the fabrication of Gilgameš's *pukku* and *mekkû* and their fate at the entrance to the Netherworld.[9] In fact, the story of the halub-tree, standing on its own, may be regarded in its own right as yet

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[8] This direct return to the past, represented by a series of causes and effects is nicely illustrated in *YOS* 11 5, 1–8, and called by van Dijk a "motif cosmique."

[9] See also Klein (2002:190–93); Cooper (2002:78–79).

another embedded story, starting in a mythical past with Enki's trip to the Netherworld and coming up to the narrative present of Inanna's request for Gilgameš's help. That its chronological scheme appears to be more coherent may have to do both with its function in the larger story as well as its scope being confined to mythical as opposed to cosmological times. This is perhaps a subtle temporal device, marking the transition from *aion* to *chronos*.

In a similar manner, other stories having to do primarily with cosmological themes tend to offer a succession of general cosmological events that lead directly to the matters at hand that are the topics of the narrative. Here one can only cite some leading examples, such as *Song of the Hoe*:[10]

1. en-e níg-du$_7$-e pa na-an-ga-am-me-ni-in-è-dè
2. en nam-tar-ra-na šu nu-bal-e-dè
3. $^d$en-líl numun-kalam-ma ki-ta è-dè
4. an ki-ta bad-re$_6$-dè sag na-an-ga-am-ma-an-sum
5. ki an-ta bad-re$_6$-dè sag na-an-ga-am-ma-an-sum
6. uzu-è-a sag mú-mú-dè
7. dur-an-ki-ka búlug nam-mi-in-lá
8. $^{giš}$al-e mu-un-gar utu al-è-e
9. éš-gàr mu-un-dù nam al-tar-re


1. The lord who makes manifest suitable things
2. The lord whose decree of fate is not overturned.
3. Enlil, who makes the seed of the land of Sumer rise from the earth,
4. Hastened to separate sky from earth,
5. Hastened to separate earth from sky,
6. (In order) to make flourish the waxing flesh.
7. At Duranki, the bond of earth and sky, he fixed the axis.
8. He did this with the hoe and day (light) came forth.
9. He created assigned tasks, decreed fate.

Compare *Lahar and Ašnan*, in which the first forty-two lines of a seventy line introduction deal with mythological and cosmological topics leading up to the debate itself (Alster and Vanstiphout 1987:2–17).

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[10] *PSD* ms Behrens; see also Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETSCL) 5.5.4 (Black, et al. 1998–). The focus here is on the creation of the hoe.

A similar pattern can be discerned in the derivative ethnopoetic histories found in the Enmerkar epics (Berlin 1983:17–24; Hallo 1983:165) of which *Lugalbanda and Hurrumkurra* has the most detailed account, tracking a chronological sequence similar to the exorcistic extract noted above. The events contained in the narrative are thought to occur after the following selected and arranged cosmological and historical events as a prooemium to the appearance of the protagonist, Enmerkar (Cohen 1973:18 n. 10; Streck 2002:200 and n. 33):

1. The beginning of time, represented by the separation of earth and sky (reconstructed):[11]

  1. [ud ul an ki-ta ba$_9$-ra-a-ba]

2. The beginning of civilization represented by the establishment of architecture and agriculture, lines 2–9:

  2. [. . . níg]-⌜du$_7$-e⌝[12] mùš ⌜KÉŠ⌝-[da]
  3. [. . .] ⌜ul⌝ buru$_{14}$ ul-e še ⌜KAxX⌝-[(x)]-a-ba
  4. [. . . in] ⌜ba⌝-dub-ba ki ba-sur-ra-a-ba
  5. [kak] ⌜ba⌝-rú-a-ba mu ba-sar-ra-a-ba[13]
  6. [(x)] ⌜ég⌝ pa$_5$-re šu-luh ak-a-ba
  7. [(x)] ⌜AD⌝-gin$_7$ x pú si sá-a-ba
  8. [$^{id}$] ⌜buranun⌝ íd hé-gál-la unug$^{ki}$-ga-⌜ke$_4$⌝ [ki] ⌜in⌝-dar-ra-a-ba
  9. [(x) x] NUN BI TAB dù-a-ba

3. The beginning of (Urukean) polity and the establishment of urban centers generally represented by en-ship and kingship, lines 10–12:

  10. [(x) x] ha-la UL TAB gar-ra-ba
  11. [(x) x] an kù-ga-ke$_4$ in-zi-zi-ra-a-ba
  12. x [nam]-⌜en⌝ nam-lugal-la-ke$_4$ unug$^{ki}$-ga-ke$_4$ [(x) pa] è bí-in-ak

[In days long ago after sky was separated from earth],

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[11] The text is based upon the Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETSCL) 1.8.2.1 (Black, et al. 1998–); cf., Cohen (1973:18 n. 10); Streck (2002:200 and n. 33). This furnishes what Berlin has termed a "subjective history" (Berlin 1983:23).

[12] Reading against ETSCL, which reads ul for du$_7$. See Streck (2002:200 and n. 34); Cohen (1973:18 n. 10). Cf., *Song of the Hoe*, line 1: en-e níg-du$_7$-e pa na-an-ga-am-mi-in-è-dè. Shaffer (1963:48) line 4 u$_4$-ul níg-du$_7$-e pa è-a-ba.

[13] Reading with Glassner (2003:233 n. 25).

[In days] long ago [after] all wants [were seen to],
[In days] long ago after the primal barley harvest [. . .],
[After boundaries] were established, after plots were surveyed,
[After the nail (marker)] was inserted and inscribed,
[After] levees and canals were dredged,
[After] wells were dug [. . .],
[After] the Euphrates, Uruk's abundant river was cut (in the ground),
[After] . . . was erected,
[After] . . . was placed,
[After] Holy An *took* [. . .]
[After] the en-ship and kingship of Uruk were *brought forth*,

Lambert has remarked how disappointing it is that Mesopotamian civilization did not, despite its approximate three thousand year time span, develop its cosmological ideas (Lambert 1975:49; 1980–83:219; Streck 2002:232). But the absence of a developed and systematic body of thought and writing in this area need not necessarily suggest, as the previous examples demonstrate, that Mesopotamian notions of temporal sequences were achronic. The larger body of available comparative evidence dealing with notions of mythic and cosmological time suggests that the poets had a fairly clear understanding of temporal order when it came to narrative and were not at all reticent about arranging and rearranging that order to suit their story-telling purposes. In such narratives, temporal order could and did vary. A "normal" sequence of time in narrative presupposes a kind of zero degree, having a congruence between narrative and story or the order and manner of its recounting.[14] For any number of reasons, stylistic and otherwise, this "normal" order can be and often is interrupted, resulting in what narratologists term generally "anachronia" or discordance between the two orderings of story and narrative (Vanstiphout 1992:260). Because of their relatively high degree of repetition of large blocks of textual material, for example, *Dumuzi's Dream, Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* and *Inanna's Descent*

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[14] Prompting Genette (1980:36), to observe that folklore narrative "habitually" conforms to chronological order and that beginning *in medias res* followed by an expository return to an earlier period of time is one of the formal earmarks of epic. See Martin (1986:86); Bal (1997:80). The complex and sometimes subtle interrelation between notions of beginnings, ends, and causation cannot be discussed in detail here, see Said (1975: Ch. 2).

among others, afford excellent examples of anachronia as well as what Steiner has characterized as the "play of times" that are so indispensable for narrative poetry.[15] The latter two compositions have the additional advantage, for analytical purposes, of having what I would call "arrested beginnings," which is to say that in both of them the narrative "now" or present commences somewhat after the initial lines of each composition (Ricoeur 1981:75).[16] For instance, contrary to the conventional view that maintains that lines 6–13 of *Inanna's Descent* are to be seen as part and parcel of her preparations for her journey to the Netherworld, the narrative present of the story, her actual foray to KUR, does not necessarily coincide with these lines.[17] Katz has argued that the narrative present commences with lines 14ff., which tell of Inanna's elaborate preparations beginning with the donning of her regalia and gathering of me's appropriate to her and that lines 1–13 are an introduction that foreshadows the narrative events to be recounted (Katz 1996:226 n. 13).[18] At a minimum, lines 4–13 are to be regarded, according to this view, as a kind of anachronic reflection by the narrator of the consequences of Inanna's razzia.[19]

According to Jacobsen's higher criticism, the actual extract of the embedded Enki myth is contained in lines 11–26 and begins with

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[15] Steiner (2001:72): "Syntax empowers a multitudinous range of 'times.' Remembrances, a frozen present, futurities . . . are obvious examples of the free play with time without which the epic poem, the universe of narrative fiction, or the film would be impossible."

Cf., Proust's *jeu formidable* in *A recherche du temps perdu* and Genette's discussion (1980: passim). The wholesale repetition characterized by Vanstiphout as a "penchant" of Mesopotamian poets is, I think, his type A. See his discussion (Vanstiphout 1992:248–51); cf. Alster (1992:53 and nn. 112–113). Finally, with regard to the "play of time" and epic poetry, see the advice of the poet Eumolpus in Petronius, *Satyricon* XIV 118: "In any case, epic is not a matter of writing chronicles in verse; historians can do that sort of thing far more effectively. No, true epic requires freedom from strict historical fact." (Quoted from the Arrowsmith translation [1959] 137).

[16] For the somewhat elusive and subtle notion of the point of narratability (*Ansatzpunkt*), see Brooks (1992:96).

[17] Lineation after Sladek (1974).

[18] In her earlier discussion, she confined her remarks to lines 4–13. See her most recent treatment (Katz 2003:251–56); cf., already, Alster (1992:64). Whether or not lines 1–13 are to be considered proleptic or not is too complicated to be addressed here and will be examined in detail in my forthcoming text edition.

[19] For a discussion of "consequences" as one of the functional components of folk-narrative, see Rosenberg (1991:236–42). In this instance, Inanna is separated from *inter alia*, her shrines because of her foray to KUR.

the well-known *topos* of the gods dividing their domains, lines 11–13 (Jacobsen 1993:120).[20] In a similar fashion and as Berlin has noted, the narrative proper of *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna* begins with line 14, the exact meaning of which eluded her (Berlin 1979:63–4). It is a stylized opening quite like that which opens *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* but with a qualifying and significant difference:

> $u_4$-ba $u_4$ en-na-àm $gi_6$ bára-ga-àm $^d$utu lugal-àm
> "At that time, the day was lord, the night was sovereign, Utu was king."

This passage is remarkable for its topical combination of the stereo-typed series $u_4$/$gi_6$ and sovereignty terminology represented by the series en, bára and lugal.[21] The sovereignty terminology alone is attested by earlier witnesses such as 5 N 274 5–15:

> $u_4$ $^d$inanna-$ke_4$
> lugal-ki-gen-né-$du_7$-$du_7$-ra
> nam-en
> nam-lugal-da
> e-na-da-tab-a
> unug$^{ki}$-ga
> nam-en
> mu-ak-$ke_4$
> urim$^{ki}$-ma
> nam-lugal
> mu-ak-$ke_4$
>
> "When Inanna combined lordship (and) kingship for Lugalkigennedudu, he excercised lordship in Uruk and kingship in Ur."[22]

Possibly the combination of sovereignty terminology and the $u_4$/$gi_6$ series reflects the solar function of Utu and stands as a metaphor of

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[20] Streck (2002:236), citing the Sippar version; *Atra-hasis*, Lambert and Millard 1969) I 11–18, reports the casting of lots (*isqu*) to divide the divine realms, with which compare *Iliad* 187–193, where the tripartite division of heaven, sea, and the netherworld among Zeus, Poseidon and Hades is achieved in a similar manner. See West (1999) 109–10. For the *Hymn to Demeter* cited there, see now Foley (1994).

[21] See Klein (1981:88), line 387 (*Shulgi D*): nam-en-nam-lugal-la $u_4$-sù-da nam-šè gú-mu-rí-íb-tar$^{ar}$, "I shall declare long-lasting sovereignty and and kingship as your fate," translation after Cooper (1983:236).

[22] Steible (1982:Vol. II, 302–303) lines 5–14; cf., Cooper (1983) lines 67–69: sa nam-en-na aga nam-lugal-la ma-an-si-um $^{giš}$gu-za nam-lugal-la sum-ma $^d$nin-urta-$ke_4$ é-šu-me-ša$_4$-ra ba-ni-in-$ku_4$: ". . . Ninurta brought (back) into his (temple) Ešumeša, the sovereign insignia, the royal crown, the . . . and the royal throne which had been bestowed (on Agade)."

the diurnal-nocturnal organization (creation?) of time and therefore the separation of earth and sky.[23]

When it came to Jacobsen's correction of what he perceived as an achronic sequence of cosmic events, he focused on lines 4–10. According to him, the separation of earth and sky, itself one of several well-attested cosmological opening gambits, should precede both the appearance of bread and the ovens in which it was given its final edible form as well as the appearance of humankind.[24] Although he adduced no comparative evidence for this suggested adjustment, on its own terms, it would appear as if, in Jacobsen's higher critical view, cosmological beginnings trump literary openings.[25] Notwithstanding the contradictory nature of the evidence presented by the example cited above, support for the idea that both sets of lines can serve as introductions is available in other compositions (Black 1992:73–74; 92–95). From Jacobsen's observations made *en passant*, one can derive two models, (1) his suggested sequence of lines 1–10: 1–3; 8–10; 4–7 and (2) his preferred introduction to *Enki's Descent* found in *UET* 6/1 55, 53–54 and placed by him before line 11 (Jacobsen 1993:122).[26] One may likely assume that his view and suggestions were grounded in several considerations, *inter alia*, his knowledge of textual evidence for the separation of earth and sky, a *topos* well-attested in the literature that occasionally occupies an initial position in compositions[27] as well as the idea that the "logic" of

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[23] For a discussion of selected aspects of this cosmic phenomenon, see Heimpel 1986.

[24] Jacobsen (1993:122): "The introduction of bread is told before the separation of heaven and earth, which surely must have preceded it and before man became recognizable of which the same may be said."

[25] Compare the sequence found in *Lahar and Ašnan*, Alster and Vanstiphout (1987:14–5) lines 10–15; 20–21, where wheat, let alone bread, had not been fashioned. These lines demonstrate clearly the aggregative, additive aspect of Mesopotamian thought: wheat (material): ovens (manner of preparing wheat in its final, albeit "raw" form, a tool): bread (finished product). This is a recurrent pattern in Mesopotamian learned and literary traditions that can be expanded, abbreviated, or combined along traditional Structuralist paradigmatic or syntagmatic axes. In times after that of the primordial stage reported in *Lahar and Ašnan*, this description is similar to and employed to describe a primitive state of people or demons beyond the pale—savage, albeit not noble.

[26] It is unclear whether or not Jacobsen, *sub silentio*, thought that lines 1–3 were to be included in and begin model (2).

[27] See *Enki and Ninmah*, lines 1–3, itself a tale of the creation of humankind and *Song of the Hoe*, lines 1–4.

cosmological beginnings carries with it a temporal typology which suggests that the event of sundering precedes the appearance of humankind.[28] What he thought was lacking and what he apparently wanted was a reflection of origins, perhaps better, beginnings[29] and from these, the outline of a temporally coherent story from that point to the narrative present of *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld*. Yet from a narratological standpoint, one must bear in mind that in some narrative situations, "normal" temporal order is superseded by or subordinated to other considerations (Goodman 1981:115). An examination of the narrative temporal markers found in *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* reveals a variety of devices leading up to the narrative present of lines 134–135 that do not, of themselves, lend support to Jacobsen's position.

The overall rich and complex narrative structure of the composition which, although worthy of a full-scale study in its own right, requires here only a survey of the first one hundred and thirty-five lines, exhibits a variety of temporal marking devices ranging from 0-marker (implicit) to a three-line poetic strophe. From line 1 of the vexing mythic introduction to line 135 of the narrative present, where it is reported that Gilgameš acceded to Inanna's request for help in the matter of the halub-tree, we have the following plot outline (with time markers noted):

1–10: Mythic prelude, creation of cosmos and immediate aftermath.
11–26: "Enki's Descent".
      11–13: Division of divine realms by An and Enlil among themselves and Ereškigal:

u$_4$ an-né an ba-an-túm-a-ba
$^d$en-líl-le ki ba-an-túm-a-ba
$^d$ereš-ki-gal-la-ra kur-ra sag-rig$_7$-bi-šè im-ma-ab-rig$_7$-a-ba

"When An had taken the heavens for himself, (and)
Enlil had taken the earth for himself,
And had given it as a gift to Ereškigal in the Netherworld"

---

[28] As reflected in the ethnopoetic histories discussed by Berlin (1984). See Martin (1986:85–7). Black (1992:73–4), recognized that different time periods can be associated with the stylized opening of u$_4$/gi$_6$/mu: (1) before gods existed (2) antediluvian times and (3) the separation of earth and sky.

[29] See Said (1975) for the literary-critical distinction between origins and beginnings, passim.

These lines, notwithstanding the problems posed by line 13, echo lines 8–9 of the mythic introduction, which is itself silent as to the (divine) agencies responsible for the separation of earth and sky. Compare in this regard Ni 4507 11'–12' (unpublished): [u₄ a]n-né an-bad-rá-a-[ba ᵈen-lí]l-le ki-bad-rá-a-b[a]. Is their proximity in some way a reflection of the ancient compositor's awareness of their topical similarity?

> 14–16: Announcement of Enki's departure for kur (0 marker, "when" implicit and understood). The journey occurs after the creation of the cosmos and the division of divine realms. This is similar to the announcement formula found in other divine journeys (Wilcke 1976:245).[30]
>
> 17–26: Description of Enki's boat ride to KUR.

27–46: The legend of the halub-tree.
  27–31: Tree planted by the Euphrates:

> u₄-bi-a giš-diš-àm ᵍⁱˢha-lu-úb-diš-àm giš-diš-àm
> gú-ᶦᵈburanun-na-kù-ga-ka dù-a-bi
> ᶦᵈburanun-na na₈-na₈-da-bi
>
> "At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub-tree, a lone tree
> Planted on the bank of the pure Euphrates,
> Drinking Euphrates' water,"

32–37: The tree is replanted by Inanna in her garden.
38–39: Inanna asks (rhetorically) how long it will be before she can reap the benefit from her planting.
40–41: The tree grows to maturity.
  40–41 combines a cliché for the passage of time with a one line statement:

> [m]u-5–àm m[u-10–àm ba-e-zal-la-ri]
> giš ba-gur₄ kuš-bi nu-mu-un-da-dar
>
> "After five years, ten years had passed,
> The tree grew large but its bark had not split."

Note how lines 27–40 form a temporal frame, from the time of the tree's initial planting to its maturity.

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[30] See now Van Dijk (1998:13) lines 26–30.

42–44: Creatures occupy the tree: a snake in its roots, the imdugud-bird in its branches and a wood-sprite in its trunk.

45–46: Inanna's distress.

      47–49: Inanna's petition to Utu:

$u_4$-zal-le-da an-úr-zalag-ge-da
$buru_5$ $u_4$-zal-le $šeg_{11}$ $gi_4$-$gi_4$-da
$^d$utu gá-nun-ta è-a-ni

"When dawn was breaking, when the horizon became light,
(When) the birds at the crack of dawn began to chirp,
(When) Utu had left his bed-chamber,"

50–51: Direct speech marker.

52–53: Mythic prelude, abbreviated version of lines 4–10:

šeš-mu $u_4$-ri-a na-ám ba-tar-ra-a-ba
$u_4$ hé-ma-al-la ka-na-ám-mà ba-e-zal-la-ri

"My brother, in those days when destiny was determined,
When abundance overflowed in Sumer,"

134–135: Narrative present, Gilgameš agrees to help Inanna:

$nin_9$-a-ni inim in-na-an-$du_{11}$-ga
šeš-a-ni ur-sag-$^d$gilgameš inim-bi ba-dè-gub

"In the matter which his sister told him,
Her brother, the warrior Gilgameš stood by her"

These lines, with some variation tailored to narrative requirements, are reproduced in three repetitive blocks that are organized as follows:

| (i) | (ii) | (iii) |
|-----|------|-------|
| 1–10 | 52–53 | 96–97 |
| 11–13 | 54–56 | 98–100 |
| 14–16 | 57–59 | 101–103 |
| 17–26 | 60–69 | 104–113 |
| 27–46 | 70–90 | 114–135[31] |
| 47–51 | 91–95 | narrative present |

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[31] There is no corresponding line for lines 90 and 135 in section (i). Lines 52–53 || 96–97 are abbreviated recapitulations of lines 1–10 and are significant because more explicitly, Utu's role is emphasized and is suggestive of a diurnal-nocturnal temporal organization.

Despite Jacobsen's objections, analysis of the various time markers as well as the general framework of *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* suggests that there is no compelling reason why lines 1–10, with some slight modification, cannot serve as the introduction to the Enki myth and the larger composition of which these are a part, yielding the following sequence: 1–3; 8–10; 4–7.

1. ud-ri-a u$_4$-sud-rá-ri-a
2. ge$_6$-ri-a ge$_6$-bad-rá-ri-a
3. mu-ri-a mu-sud-rá-ri-a
8. an ki-ta ba-da-bad-rá-a-ba
9. ki an-ta ba-da-sur-ra-a-ba
10. mu-nam-lú-ulu$_3^{lu}$ ba-an-gar-ra-a-ba
4. ud-ul níg-du$_7$-e pa-è-a-ba
5. ud-ul níg-du$_7$-e mí-zi-du$_{11}$-ga-a-ba
6. èš-kalam-ma-ka ninda-šú-a-ba
7. im-šu-rin-na-kalam-ma-ka níg-tab-ak-a-ba

By the same token, apart from aesthetic considerations, there is no reason to isolate lines 11–13, which themselves presuppose the separation of earth and sky and are not inconsistent with it, from the immediately preceding lines. Jacobsen's proposed insertion of the two additional lines as preserved by *UET* 6/1 55 with his suggested adjustments (Jacobsen 1993:122) is unnecessary. Arguably, these lines, echoed in an abbreviated fashion by lines 53–53 || 96–97 are appropriate exactly where they are as allusions to lines 4–10.

8–9: There is sufficient comparative evidence to suggest positing an initial principle that the cosmos and its creation, as situs and process, had first to come into being from a pre-existent materiality. The separation of earth and sky is one such expression of that initial principle having both spatial and temporal implications and coterminous in a Heideggerian sense. Time reckoning, if not time itself, in the sense of *chronos*, may have been considered by the ancients to begin with the cosmic first event of sundering (Sjöberg 2002:238; Lambert 1980–1983:218–22; Steiner 2001:108–25). Earth and sky must "body forth" to provide the milieu for what is, at least implicitly, the next step in the series of creative events selected by the poet and calling for comment—the creation and flourishing of humankind.[32]

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[32] Michalowski (1989:58–9), line 367: u$_4$ ul kalam ki gar-ra-ta zag un lu-a-šè,

From a narratological standpoint, this sundering as cosmic event, furnishes a temporal point par excellence, outside the narrative itself as contemplated by Martin (1986:86) and signals the transition from *aion* to *chronos*, becoming itself a metaphor for cosmic creation of the world and all within it.[33] This transition may be reflected in the damaged and difficult Ur III fragment NBC 11108, line 1: a[n] [e]n-ne an mu-zala[g]-⌈ge⌉ ki mu-gi₆ kikki kur-šè igi m[u]-[x], ". . . the lord lit up the heavens, darkened the earth . . .", that is, time had now been organized on a nocturnal-diurnal basis.[34]

4–5: Jacobsen regarded lines 4–7 as treating the same topic—bread. Yet his reading of ninda in lines 4–5 is problematic. I read here níg-du₇ in both lines and translate as "suitable things," a translation that, admittedly does not convey the full force and effect of what was probably intended to be meant.

Perhaps then Jacobsens "hodgepodge of snippets" can be salvaged, because it is what the text contained and as the honoree has reminded us, the text is all that we have (Vanstiphout 1997:134). In any case, opinions concerning time and setting it right seem always to engender dispute as Iacobus Curio observed in 1557:

> Agnum lupo facilius concordaveris, quam de aetate
> mundi omnes inter se chronographos[35]

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"Since the olden days when the land was founded until (now) when the people have multiplied;" cf., *Shulgi B* 333 cited by Michalowski in his commentary: numun ba-i-ta zag un lu-a-šè, "From olden days to the time that people multiplied."

[33] *Uruk Lament*, Green (1984) 12.29–12.30: u₄ an-ki in-du-a a-na gál-la-ba u₄-bi nam-me-kúr-ru hé-me-ne-eš, "('Then') the way it was at the time when heaven and earth came about, of that time, nothing shall be changed—let them promise it to us." See Green's comment ad 1.1, 277. Metaphor is here regarded in its semantic sense as "metaphorical statement." For an analysis of the semiotic/semantic distinction as two aspects of metaphor, see Ricoeur (1981:65–100).

[34] Van Dijk (1976:129); Michalowski (1993:159 and n. 46); Geller (2000:44 and n. 311); Horowitz (1998:138–9 and n. 35); Sjöberg (2002:239–40 and n. 20). The reading of the line is based on Sjöberg; see his commentary, 240–41 and in the same text, line 7: ⌈u₄⌉ [n]u ⌈zalag⌉ ⌈gi₆⌉-àm mu-lá, "Light did not (yet) shine, darkness expanded." This could just as easily be translated "Day did not (yet) dawn, night (darkness) *reigned*" in a sense similar to that expressed in *SBH* 77, 44, 18ff.: ám-u₄-zal-la-ke₄ gi₆-gar-ra-zu, *ša urri ana mūši taškunu ša namāra ana māti taprusu*, "you who have turned day into night, have deprived the land of light". Perhaps Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna line 14 is a distant echo of this idea: "At that time, the day was lord, the night was sovereign (but) Utu was king" (of both). Although it cannot be developed here, the idea of Utu regnant over night and day may be connected in some way with the idea of his daily circuit between the realm of death and the land of the living.

[35] "It is easier to make the wolf agree with the lamb than to make all chronologers agree about the age of the world," quoted in Grafton (1991:106 and n. 10).

This venture in higher criticism is offered with best and warmest wishes to the honoree and in appreciation for his many rich and varied contributions to Sumerian literary studies.

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# GILGAMEŠ, GUDAM, AND THE SINGER IN SUMERIAN LITERATURE[1]

## Alhena Gadotti

### Introduction[2]

The *Tale of Gudam* (henceforth Gudam) is known only from two manuscripts, both excerpt tablets from Old Babylonian Nippur. Manuscript A (= CBS 13859) is a complete tablet, while manuscript B (= Ni 4409) is a fragment of a tablet's left side.[3] Neither manuscript preserves the beginning of the composition,[4] which is nevertheless almost certainly attested in line 13 of an Old Babylonian literary catalogue:

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. en-e kur lu$_2$ til$_3$-la-še$_3$ | GH A |
| 11. šul me$_2$-ka | GBH |
| 12. lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a ag | GA |

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[3] In order to limit confusion, I here follow Alster's designation of the manuscripts, as well as his new numbering of the lines.

[4] The total number of lines is unknown, and the two manuscripts only overlap in line 7 and lines 26–39 (with numerous variants discussed by Alster 2004). It is odd that text A begins with what Alster labels as line 7 (corresponding to 7+x of text B). Usually excerpt tablets either begin at the beginning or further down in the composition, but not as close to the beginning as we have here. Collation of text A showed that the tablet is complete. Furthermore, the scribe who wrote A had more that enough space to include the omitted lines, had he wished to do so. The end of the composition is located in the middle of the reverse, leaving the bottom half devoid of writing.

13. gud-dam iri$^{ki}$          Gudam
14. i$_3$-a lum-lum             GH B$^5$

Heimpel (1971:676) summarized the plot of the text, concluding that
Inana's speech at the end of the composition was "möglicherweise
die Ätiologie des Mythos enthält, zeigt, dass es sich bei Gudam um
ein Rind oder—als Gegenspieler Inannas viellecht genauer—einen
Stier handelt."

Römer (1990) edited the composition for the first time, providing
a textual matrix, commentary and exegesis. He proposed that Gudam
was possibly "eine Art Personifikation des Rindviehs Inannas" (p. 365)
and that the text may describe a ritual. He further asserted that no
connections existed between Gudam and the Bull of Heaven, although
he considered Gudam to be identical to the bovine-like monster
which attacked Uruk in the Uruk Lament.

In 2001, Frayne published a new translation of the Sumerian
Gilgameš stories,[6] where he suggested that to the six traditional tales
narrating the deeds of Gilgameš (GEN, GH versions A and B, GBH,
GA and DG), a seventh could be added, the enigmatic *Tale of Gudam*.
He proposed that Gudam "may be a variant of the story 'Gilgamesh
and the Bull of Heaven,'" (p. 127) most likely for two reasons:[7] first,
the name Gudam, literally "He is an ox" suggests that the charac-
ter was an ox-like creature, as the Bull of Heaven in GBH. Secondly,
both GBH and Gudam mention an otherwise unknown singer
(Sumerian nar) called lugal-gaba-ĝal$_2$ or lugal-gaba-ĝar. This fact had
already been noted by Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993) in their edi-
tion of the Meturan version of GBH[8] and recently it has been fur-
ther explored by Alster (2004).

Alster's article, entitled "Gudam and the Bull of Heaven," pro-
vides a new edition, translation and commentary of the text. It also
offers some suggestive interpretations about Gudam and its rela-

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[5] See Kramer (1942). See also the Oxford Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian
Literature: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk, c. 0.2.0.1.

[6] Foster (2001:99–155).

[7] Frayne does not specify the reasons why he was led to include Gudam with
the Sumerian Gilgameš stories.

[8] Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993:110) point out that "Le thème (et le nome
même) du barde qui, frappé d'horreur, se refuse à jouer (et à verser à boire), se
retrouve dans l'histoire du Gudam."

tionship with GBH, concluding that "the Gudam tale was coined as a variant of an episode of *Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven*" (p. 10).

In this paper I would like to further investigate the relationship between Gudam and GBH suggested by Frayne and Alster, and argue that the place of Gudam may be better understood within a wider context. In order to do that, I will first provide a brief introduction to both Gudam and GBH, and then demonstrate that Gudam also includes motifs attested outside GBH, a fact which has led me to reconsider the intertextual connections between these two texts within the broader spectrum of Sumerian literature. As a result, I believe that the direction of the borrowings between Gudam and GBH cannot be determined. A valid understanding of the relationships between Sumerian compositions must account for all the intertextual references and not just those which are the most self-evident.

## Gudam and the Bull of Heaven

Gudam is a story about an otherwise unknown character whose name, as noted above, means "He is an ox." The text never says that he has ox-like features, nor does it compare him to a bovine; in fact, he is not described at all. It seems that Gudam entered the storehouses of Uruk and ransacked them for beer and liquor, although the circumstances of these actions are lost in the break at the beginning of the tale.[9] When faced by the multitudes of Uruk,[10] who took up weapons ostensibly in order to defend their storehouses, Gudam listens to a cryptic speech delivered by the singer Lugalgabagal, condemning Gudam's voracity:

13. nar-a-ni lugal-gaba-ĝal$_2$ di gub-bu-de$_3$ ba-ra-e$_3$
14. ugnim-e igi im-ma-an-šum$_2$
15. nar-e en$_3$-du-a šu i-ni-in-gi$_4$ sa šu-na bi$_2$-in-RU
16. i$_3$-gu$_7$-a-zu i$_3$-gu$_7$-a-zu
17. ninda nu-e-zu uzu-zu-um [m]u-ni-gu$_7$
18. i$_3$-naĝ-a-zu i$_3$-naĝ-a-zu
19. kaš nu-e-naĝ uš$_2$-zu-um ⌜mu⌝-ni-naĝ

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[9] Alster (2004:7) suggests that lines 1–10 "seem to describe the preparation of a festival for Inana, in which Gudam plays a role."

[10] And not his own entourage, as Alster argues in his article.

20. gu$_4$-dam-e e-sir$_2$ unu$^{ki}$-ga-ke$_4$ šar$_2$-am$_3$ ma-ra-mi-u$_3$-us$_2$
21. šar$_2$-ra-am$_3$ $^{ĝiš}$tukul-a ma-ra-dur$_2$-ru-ne-eš
22. gen-a na-ak-en munus-e ĝa$_2$-a ma-an-dug$_4$-ga un bi$_2$-gin-ne-en

13. Her[11] singer Lugalgabagal came forward in order to stand up to speak,
14. (And) he looked at the troops.
15. The singer repeated the song, he strummed the strings:
16. "That which you ate, that which you ate
17. You did not eat bread, what you ate was your own flesh.
18. That which you drank, that which you drank
19. You did not drink beer, what you drank was your own blood.
20. Gudam, in the street of Uruk, the multitudes followed you.
21. The multitudes surrounded you with weapons!
22. Go on, do not do it! That which the woman has ordered me (to say), O people, I have come (to say)!"

In my view, the implication of this passage is that by devouring the food kept in Uruk's storehouses, Gudam was committing a self-destructive act which, while not evident to Gudam himself, is clear to the singer. This speech sends Gudam into a furious rage, whereupon he slaughters the people of Uruk using his weapon, šar$_2$-ur$_3$ until a fisherman of the goddess Inana intervenes and smites him.

GBH[12] tells the story of the Bull of Heaven's attack against Uruk upon Inana's instigation. In this text, the name of the singer is written either lugal-gaba-ĝal$_2$ (Nippur version) or lugal-gaba-ĝar (Meturan version). Lugalgabagal alerts Gilgameš of the coming of the Bull of Heaven, and it is only due to this warning that the hero intervenes to rescue Uruk from peril:[13]

86. nar-ĝu$_{10}$ lugal-gaba-ĝar en$_3$-du-zu da-ga-ab sa-a-zu\ [sig$_{10}$-bi-ib]

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[11] See below.
[12] The composition is known from at least 20 manuscripts from Nippur and Tell-Haddad/Meturan. One of the Nippur texts dates to the Ur III period, whereas all the others are OB.
[13] I here follow A. George's interpretation of the passage (1999:172). Note that Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993:99) offer a slightly different interpretation of the text. In their opinion, Gilgameš "se délasse en compagnie de son barde Lugalgabagal. Ce dernier aperçoit les ravages du Taureau et les décrit a Gilgameš." According to them, "Gilgamesh veut boire, écouter de la musique." However, "Le barde ne peut prendre sur lui de s'exécuter."

87. kaš mu-un-naĝ $^{zabar}$sila$_3$ gi$_4$-bi-ib
88. lugal-gaba-ĝar $^d$gilgameš$_2$ lugal-a-ni/-ra?\ [gu$_3$ mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$]
89. lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ za-e u$_2$ da-an-gu$_7$-e za-e a [da-an-na$_8$-na$_8$]
90. ĝe$_{26}$-e inim-bi a-na-am$_3$ mu-[. . .]

86. "Singer of mine, Lugalgabagar, sing your song, adjust your string
87. "I will drink beer, refill the cup!"
88. Lugalgabagar answered Gilgameš, his master:
89. "Master of mine, you may eat, [you may dri]nk.
90. "As for me, this matter why [. . .]?"[14]

After these lines the text is broken, but in the Meturan version this exchange is followed by Gilgameš's donning of armor and subsequent confrontation with the Bull of Heaven. The plot of the more fragmentary Nippur version seems to develop along the same lines as the Meturan version.[15]

As the role of the singer Lugalgabagal has been pivotal in the understanding of the relationship between Gudam and GBH, a brief discussion of his name and his profession is here appropriate. Outside these two compositions, there is no attestation of the personal name lugal-gaba-ĝar/ĝal$_2$, although a shortened form, lugal-gaba, is well attested in ED Lagaš as well as in Lagaš II and Ur III administrative documents.[16] lugal-gaba-ĝar/ĝal$_2$ is a very apt name for a court singer, as it consists of a praise to the ruler, "The king is valiant, brave."[17] If the PN Lugalgabagal is not attested outside Gudam and GBH, his profession is very well documented in Proverbs, royal hymnology and administrative texts from the third millennium on.

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[14] Meturan Version. The numbering follows Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi's (1993). The Nippur version preserves a different answer by Lugalgabagal: see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi, (1993:118–19), lines 38–44.

[15] Note that in GBH, Lugalgabagal addresses the king in *emesal*, otherwise only employed by goddesses, women and gala-priests. One wonders whether this is just a Meturan peculiarity, or rather, has something to do with the fact that it is the speech of a singer.

[16] An on-line search of the CDLI (http://cdli.ucla.edu) returned over 90 hits.

[17] Alster (2005:11) translates it "Lord who has a strong breast," a tantalizing hypothesis considering that a nar needs to have good lungs in order to sing. The name lugal-gaba, however, makes little sense, even when one supplies an enclitic copula -am$_3$ or an equative particle -gin$_7$. Limet (1968:241), who briefly discussed it in his study of Sumerian PNs, suggested that such name may evoke the notion of courage by means of association, as gaba, chest, is a common metaphor representing the seat of courage.

The Sumerian Proverbs stress that the voice of the nar was his primary musical instrument.[18] The royal hymns highlight the panegyric role of the nar, to perpetuate the name of the king by eternally preserving and reciting the hymns in his honor.[19] The administrative texts, on the other hand, illustrate how a prominent position at court was possible for a good nar.[20] Gudam and GBH offer a new aspect to the figure of the ancient Mesopotamian nar. In both texts, the singer mediates between the danger threatening the city of Uruk, represented by an ox-like creature (Gudam and the Bull of Heaven), and the solution of the crisis (the fisherman and Gilgameš). Moreover, just as the suffix in GBH nar-a-ni, "his singer" refers to Gilgameš, the *king*, in Gudam, line 13, I interpret nar-a-ni as "her singer" to indicate that he is a servant of Inana, *queen* of Uruk.[21] Thus, in Gudam as well as GBH, the singer is in the service of the character who ultimately saves Uruk from the bovine menace, that is Inana (through her fisherman) in Gudam and Gilgameš in GBH.

After intervening on Uruk's behalf, Lugalgabagal's role is completed, and he disappears from both narratives. His role is functional to the solution of the crisis: by using his ability to perform songs, he manages to create an opening for the crisis to be overcome. However, whereas in Gudam the singer addresses Gudam, the *enemy*, and attempts to draw attention to the inappropriateness of his actions, in GBH, Lugalgabagal addresses Gilgameš *his king* and rouses him into action.

The main objection to the hypothesis that Gudam is a variant of GBH lies naturally in the fact that Gudam does not mention Gilgameš at all, and indeed, his function as defender of Uruk is taken upon by the obscure fisherman of Inana, who smites Gudam using a dou-

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[18] See SP 2.39, 2.41, 2.43, 2.57 Alster (1997:53, 56).

[19] This aspect is especially emphasized in *Šulgi B*, for which see Castellino (1972).

[20] As Sallaberger (2003–2004) has shown.

[21] That Lugalgabagal was Gudam's bard was at first suggested by Cavigneaux and recently advocated by Alster. See Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993:110) and Alster (2004:11–2). Both Heimpel (1971:675) and Römer (1990:371) suggested that Lugalgabagal was Inana's bard. I believe Römer to be correct, especially on the basis of line 22 of TG, where Lugalgabagal explicitly claims to have been ordered by the woman (Sumerian munus) to speak up to Gudam. I argue that munus here is the frequently attested epithet of the goddess. See for instance GEN (lines 32, 36, 37); IŠ (lines 127 and 129; lines 181, 184, 185 and parallels); ID (line 171).

ble axe ($^{(urudu)}$dur$_{10}$-tab-ba, line 33). There is no Gilgameš tradition which associates him with fishery, but there may be a very subtle play on the naming of the "young" fisherman, šu-peš tur and Gilgameš's younger sister Peštur.[22] Alternative explanations have been put forward by Marchesi (2004) and Alster (2004). The former proposed a possible association between šu-peš tur and Dumuzi-the-Fisherman, king of the first dynasty of Uruk according to the *Sumerian King List*.[23] He further suggests that šu-peš tur may be "a textual corruption stemming from a misinterpretation of a partially preserved dumu(TUR)–z[i]."[24] Alster, on the other hand, posits a possible correlation between šu-peš tur, the fisherman of Inana and the fishermen who helped this same goddess to gain control over the Eana temple complex as narrated in *Inana and An*.[25] While none of the above mentioned interpretations can be proven, they all offer evidence of the multiple layers of associations that can be applied to Gudam.

## Gudam and the Others

Gudam and GBH share many common elements, as eloquently illustrated by Alster in his recent article. The two bards share name and profession, and they also have the same admonitory function, performed when the city of Uruk is faced with a similar threat. However, Gudam also shares common features and motifs with other literary compositions. Indeed, Gudam is at the center of a network of stories sharing themes and protagonists that go well beyond the sole parallelism with GBH. These include the threat to Uruk attested in the *Uruk Lament*;[26] the relationship between Gudam and the Akkadian

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[22] Admittedly the name of Gilgameš's sister is written with the divine determinative and it is spelled $^d$peš$_3$-tur. See for instance GH version A line 143; GBH Meturan version, manuscript Ma, reverse line 99. Note also DG N1 vi 14, which reads šu-HA tur sa ba-[u]r$_3$?-ra-ta im-me-ni-dab$_5$-be$_2$, "After having spread (?) the net, the fisherman will catch you," although this is probably only a metaphor referring to Gilgameš's imminent death, and has nothing to do with Gilgameš's sister. For a discussion of the reading of šu-HA, see Selz (1995:52 n. 233).

[23] Marchesi (2004:166 n. 86).

[24] Marchesi (2004:166 n. 86).

[25] Alster (2004:15–17). For the composition Inana and An see van Dijk (1998).

[26] Römer (1990:364) suggested that Gudam and the monster of the Uruk Lament are the same character. See also Alster (2004:12 n. 13).

Enkidu; the relationship between Gudam and Ninurta; and the destiny of Gudam.

According to the *Uruk Lament*,[27] the initial destruction of the city of Uruk is attributed to a bovine-like creature cryptically referred to as e-ne.[28] The fragmentary first kirugu describes how, in order to rid themselves of the noisy denizens of Uruk, the gods created a monster:

9. ⌈an⌉ $^d$en-lil$_2$-bi ba-an-u$_2$-tu-uš-[. . .]-gin$_7$ e-⌈ne⌉ ba-sig$_{10}$
10. $^d$nin-lil$_2$ muš$_3$-me mi-ni-in-⌈šum$_2$⌉-ma [. . .] e-ne ba-ab-tum$_3$
11. $^d$a-ru-ru $^d$suen $^d$en-ki-bi me-dim$_2$-bi ba-an-ak-eš-a
. . .
14. am-gal-gin$_7$ gu$_3$ mah im-mi-ib-dug$_4$ šeg$_{11}$-bi e-ne ba-e-si
15. si gal-bi an-⌈ne$_2$⌉ he$_2$-em-us$_2$-sa ni$_2$-bi a-ba-a in-dub$_2$

9. When together An and Enlil had created it, He was equal to [. . .],
10. When Ninlil has given it appearance, He was suitable for [. . .],
11. When together Aruru, Suen and Enki had made its limbs,
. . .
14. Like a great wild bull, He bellowed mightily, He filled the world with its roar,
15. As its gigantic horns reached up to heaven, who was it who trembled within?

As with Gudam, e-ne is never said to be a bovine, although the comparison with a wild bull strongly suggests that he was imagined as such, and, as in Gudam and GBH, this ox-like monster directs his destructiveness towards Uruk.[29] The threat, however, develops along different story lines leading to different outcomes.

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[27] Green (1984:254–79). It dates on internal evidence to the reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin.

[28] I am inclined to think that e-ne was the PN of this creature, as when referring to its body parts, the text consistently uses the possessive pronoun of third person non-person -bi. The fact that the creature is referred to with the personal pronoun of third person is in itself unique in Mesopotamian literature.

[29] According to the present reconstruction of the Uruk Lament, the first kirugu seems to describe an old destruction of the city, pre-dating the destruction that is the topic of the lament and that is introduced in the third kirugu, where Enlil proclaims "a devastating deluge, . . . war" as fate for Uruk. See Green (1984:269).

The relationship between Gudam and the Akkadian Enkidu, who like the monster in the *Uruk Lament* was created fully grown by the gods, is exemplified by the description of Gudam in lines 11–12 of Gudam:

11. gud-dam-ra e-sir$_2$ unu$^{ki}$-ga-ke$_4$ šar$_2$-am$_3$ mu-na-a[n . . .]
12. šar$_2$-ra $^{ĝiš}$tukul-a mu-na-an-dur$_2$-ne-eš

11. "The multitudes [. . .]-ed around Gudam in the streets of Uruk,
12. The multitude sat armed before him."

This passage is reminiscent of the appearance of Enkidu in the street of Uruk to confront Gilgameš. According to the OB version of the Akkadian Gilgameš epic, upon Enkidu's arrival a crowd gathers around him, recognizing him as the king's rival and equal:

177. *i-ru-ub-ma a-na* ša$_3$ *uruk*$^{ki}$ *ri-bi-tim*
178. *ip-hur um-ma-nu-*⌈*um*⌉ *i-na ṣe-ri-*⌈*šu*⌉
179. *iz-zi-za-am-ma* ⌈*i*⌉-*na su$_2$-qi$_2$-im*
180. ša$_3$ *uruk*$^{ki}$ *ri-bi-tim*
181. *pa-ah-ra-a-ma ni-šu*
182. *i-ta-wa-a i-na ṣe-ri-šu*
183. *a-na-mi* $^d$GIŠ ⌈*ma*⌉-*ši-il pa-da-tam*
184. *la-nam ša-pi-il*
185. ⌈*e-ṣe-em-tam*⌉ [*pu-u*]*k-ku-ul*

177. He (Enkidu) entered Uruk-Main-Street.
178. A crowd gathered around him.
179. He stood there in the streets
180. of Uruk Main Street.
181. The people who were gathered
182. talked about him:
183. "In frame, he is equal to Gilgameš
184. in stature he is shorter,
185. in bone structure he is sturdier."

The ensuing confrontation between Gilgameš and Enkidu takes place nearby a doorway, and in their bull-like fight they end up smashing the doorjamb:

215. $^d$*en-ki-du$_{10}$ ba-ba-am ip-ta-ri-ik*
216. ⌈*i-na*⌉ *ši-pi-šu*
217. $^d$GIŠ *e-re-ba-am u$_2$-ul id-di-in*

218.  *iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ma ki-ma le-i-im*

219.  *i-lu-du*

220.  *si₂-ip-pa-am i'-bu-tu i-ꜛga˺-rum ir-tu-ut*

215.  Enkidu blocked the doorway

216.  with his foot.

217.  He did not permit Gilgameš to enter.

218.  They seized one another, like bulls

219.  they crouched down

220.  They smashed the doorjamb, the wall trembled.

Compare Gudam 26 and 30:

26.  ᵍⁱˢdal e₂-an-na pa-ba mi-ni-in-ku₅
     He cut the cross beam of the Eanna as if it were branches.

30.  ᵍⁱˢig abul-la im-ma-an-gur₅-gur₅
     He tore open the door of the gate.

Both Gudam and the OB Gilgameš Pennsylvania tablet are con-
temporaneous manuscripts from the same site, Nippur, and they both
reflect, together with the Uruk Lament, a tradition of a monstrous
creature, bent on violence, arriving in Uruk. That Enkidu, unlike
Gudam or e-ne, is transformed into a benevolent figure, is a pecu-
liarity necessary to the plot of the Akkadian Gilgameš, suggesting a
secondary merger of the Uruk monster with the Sumerian Enkidu
to serve the purposes of the Akkadian narrator.

Gudam's relationship with the god Ninurta is also evident, as
recently shown by Feldt (2004). The most striking aspect that Gudam
and Ninurta share is that they both carry šar₂-ur₃, the "warrior's
weapon," but the intertexual references appear to have broader
ramifications.[30] With the exception of the "Tale of Gudam," šar₂-ur₃
is always exclusively Ninurta's weapon, and it plays a significant role
in his endeavors. It is therefore puzzling as well as suggestive to find
it as the weapon of choice of the otherwise unknown Gudam.

Finally, Gudam's fate is decreed by Inana who, upon Gudam's
supplications, spares his life and accepts the offerings he pledges:

35.  gud-dam-e ir₂ im-ma-an-pa₃ sig₇-sig₇ i₃-ĝa₂-ĝa₂

36.  ᵈinana zi-ĝu₁₀ šum₂-ma-ab

37.  gud kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-šum₂ ꜛtur₃˺-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu

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[30] As preliminary studies by Feldt (2004:21–23) indicate.

38. udu kur-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-šum$_2$ amaš-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-lu
39. ku$_3$ $^d$inana-ke$_4$ mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
40. gud-kur-ra ĝa$_2$-a [. . .]
41. udu-kur-ra ĝa$_2$-a [. . .]
42. $^{ĝiš}$tukul-še$_3$ ma-r[a . . .]
43. a-ša$_3$ zabalam$^{ki}$-a dur$_2$-ĝar bi$_2$-e-ĝar-ra e dur$_2$-bi-še$_3$ na$_2$-ba
44. ama-zu anše ha-ra-ab-hun-e barag al hu-mu-ra-ab-be$_2$
45. $^d$inana nam-ur-saĝ ĝa-am$_3$-dug$_4$

35. Gudam started to weep, he was sobbing:
36. "Inana, spare my life!
37. I will give you bulls of the mountains, I will fill your stalls!
38. I will give you sheep of the mountains, I will fill your pens!"
39. Pure Inana answered him:
40. "Bulls of the mountains [you will give] to me, [you will fill my stalls!]
41. Sheep of the mountains [you will give] to me, [you will fill my pens!][31]
42. By the weapon [. . .]
43. In the field of Zabalam, where you are, in the ditch—to its place—lie there!
44. So that your mother may hire donkeys for you, so that she may demand a sack for you!"[32]
45. Inana, let me speak of (your) heroism!

The conclusion of this short composition is as rich in textual innu-endos as the rest of the text. Alster (2005) discusses in detail the par-allelisms between Gudam lines 37–38 and GBH Segment B, line 16–17 (gud kur-ra ga-an-dug$_4$ tur$_3$-ba ga-bi$_2$-lu/ udu kur-ra ga-an-dug$_4$ amaš-ba ga-bi$_2$-lu) and concludes that "these words [i.e. GBH Segment B 16–17] remind too much of lines 40–41 of the *Tale of Gudam* to be coincidental" (p. 14). He further suggests that "these were story elements that were incorporated in the *Tale of Gudam*, not only because they were suitable for the purpose, but also because they would be recognized as conscious and enjoyable allusions from

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[31] I here accept Alster's restoration of the passage as the most likely solution to this passage, as it fits the context. See Alster (2004:5).

[32] For the consecutive nuance of the verbal prefix he$_2$- see Civil (1999) and Michalowski (2004).

one story in another" (pp. 13–14). But the claim that certain features were incorporated *in* Gudam rather than *from* Gudam is impossible to ascertain.[33]

Furthermore, an analysis of the conclusion of Gudam has brought to light associations which, once again, go deeper than the evident connection of this text with GBH. More precisely, I will first focus on the close association between Gudam's plea and Huwawa's plea for his life as attested in GH version A. Secondly, I will highlight the close links that the conclusion of Gudam share with IŠ, and the destiny of the latter *vis-à-vis* Gudam himself. Finally, I will draw attention to the proverbial inspiration of the destiny that Gudam is assigned.[34]

First, Gudam and Huwawa's pleas for their life run along the same lines, as one notices by comparing the two passages:[35]

152a. ur-⌜saĝ⌝-e dur$_2$ im-ma-ĝar [er$_2$ im-ma]-⌜an⌝-pad$_3$ sig$_7$-sig$_7$ i$_3$-ĝa$_2$-[ĝa$_2$]

152b. hu-wa-wa <dur$_3$> im-ma-ĝar er$_2$ im-⌜ma⌝-an-pad$_3$ sig$_7$-sig$_7$ i$_3$-ĝa$_2$-[ĝa$_2$][36]

. . .

153.    $^d$gilgameš šu ba-am$_3$-ma

154.    $^d$utu-ra inim ga-mu-na-ab-dug$_4$

155.    $^d$utu ama tud-da-ĝu$_{10}$ nu-um-zu a-a bulug$_3$-ĝa$_2$-ĝu$_{10}$ nu-um-za

156.    kur-ra mu-un-tud-de$_3$-en za-e mu-un-bulug$_3$-e

157.    $^d$gilgameš zi an-na ma-an-pad$_3$ zi ki-a ma-an-pad$_3$ zi kur-ra ma-an-pad$_3$

158.    $^d$hu-wa-wa šu-še$_3$ mu-un-dab$_5$ ki-za nam-ba-an-tum$_3$

159.    ud-ba $^d$gilgameš dumu-gir$_{15}$-ra ša$_3$-ga-ni arhuš ba-ni-in-tuku

152a. The warrior sat down, he was weeping, he was sobbing.

152b. Huwawa sat down, he was weeping he was sobbing.

. . .

153.    "Gilgameš, release me!

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[33] In any case, the mountain bulls and sheep are in both instances offered to Inana to gain release.

[34] And discussed briefly by Alster (2004:10).

[35] For the most recent edition of GH version A, see Edzard (1990 and 1991).

[36] The two lines are preserved only in two manuscripts, both from OB Ur. See Edzard (1991:219).

154. "Let me talk to Utu!
155. "Utu, I never knew the mother who bore me, I never knew the father who reared me.
156. "I was born in the mountain, you reared me.
157. "Gilgameš, you swore to me by heaven, swore to me by earth, swore to me by the Netherworld."
158. Huwawa seized his hand, threw himself before him.
159. On that day, compassion seized noble Gilgameš in his heart.

Despite Gilgameš's willingness to let him go, Enkidu opposes the idea, ultimately provoking Huwawa's death. What interests us in the present context is not so much the employment of the standard phraseology of weeping in line 152 (and variants), parallel to Gudam line 35 (see above), but rather the plea that the defeated enemy pronounces in the presence of the character responsible for his defeat. Moreover, both Inana and Gilgameš appear willing to forgive their enemy and let the matter rest, as they both have accomplished the task they wished to obtain, namely the defeat of the enemy.

Secondly, the links between Gudam and IŠ[37] are evidenced by the following elements: both Gudam and Šukaletuda have committed unspeakable sins against the goddess, although Gudam's sin is probably less grave than Šukaletuda's sexual violation of the goddess. The circumstances that bring disgrace upon Gudam are murky, lost as they are in the break at the beginning of the composition. Nonetheless, Gudam's destruction of the people of the city of Inana, Uruk, may have played a major role in his demise. Be that as it may, it is clear that both Gudam and Šukaletuda are aware of having wronged Inana: Gudam shows it by pleading for his life after having been smitten by the fisherman and offering ovines and bovines in return. Šukaletuda shows it by hiding among mankind after raping Inana, until Enki stops protecting him against Inana's furious rage.

Furthermore, the goddess Inana is directly involved in establishing the destiny of both individuals. The different outcomes, forgiveness for Gudam and death for Šukaletuda, depend, in my opinion, more on the attitude they displayed than on the wrong doing they committed: Gudam is repentant, but Šukaletuda is not. Indeed, at the end of the composition, after Inana had finally been able to seize

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[37] See Volk (1995).

Šukaletuda and interrogate him concerning his misdeeds, Šukaletuda simply recounts the story of the rape *verbatim*, without expressing any concern for what is in store for him. Inana's response is the decree-ing of his destiny:

296. ĝen-na ba-ug₅-ge-e[n] nam-ĝu₁₀ [38] mu-zu nam-⌜ba-da-ha⌝-lam-e [39]
297. ⌜mu⌝-zu en₃-du-a he₂-ĝal₂ en₃-du he₂-du₁₀-⌜ge⌝
298. [na]r tur-e e₂-gal-lugal-la-ka hu-[m]u-ni-in-ku₇-k[u₇-de₃]
299. s[ip]a-de₃ du₉-du₉ ᵈᵘᵍšakir₃-[r]a-ka-na du₁₀-ge-eš he₂-e[m-m]i-ib-be₂
300. sipa tur-re ki-udu-lu-a-na mu-zu he₂-em-tum₂-tum₂-mu
301. e₂-[gal?] eden-na e₂-zu he₂-a

296. "Go! You shall die! What is that to me? You name, though, shall not be forgotten!
297. Your name shall exist in songs, it shall make songs sweet.
298. A junior singer shall perform them in the king's palace.
299. The shepherd shall sing them sweetly as he churns his butter-churn.
300. The junior shepherd shall carry your name to the place where he grazes the sheep.
301. The [palace] in the steppe shall be your home!"

The complete picture of Gudam's destiny is lost to us due to the poor state of preservation of lines 40–43 of the story. Nonetheless, some observations can be made. Inana accepts Gudam's offering of the cattle and sheep of the mountains, assuming, as I do, that Alster's restoration of lines 40–41 is correct.[40] Line 42 is too fragmentary to allow speculation, but line 43, albeit problematic, allows a glimpse of Gudam's destiny: he is doomed to take residence in a ditch in the vicinity of the field (of) Zabalam.

Ironically, Gudam's fate is ultimately not as illustrious as that of Šukaletuda. The latter dies, but is guaranteed eternal fame, whereas

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[38] But see M. Civil's suggestion cited in Volk (1995:209 n. 1000).

[39] Note that in IB, when assigning Bilulu's destiny, Inana uses the same phrase-ology employed for Šukaletuda, but the verb is in the affirmative mood. See lines 108–109: ĝen-na ba-ug₅-ge-en na-nam-am₃/mu-zu ga-ba-ga-ha-lam-e, "Come on, you shall die! It is true indeed, and I shall cause your name to be forgotten!" This was already noted by Volk (1995:208).

[40] See Alster (2004:5).

the former manages to survive, but is relegated to dwell in a ditch. In conclusion, contrary to what happens to Huwawa and the Bull of Heaven, both slaughtered by Gilgameš and Enkidu, and to Šukale-tuda, whom Inana condemns to death, Gudam survives, although his future is not bright.

And finally, line 44 of Gudam draws directly from the lore of the Sumerian proverb collections (SP 2.73), as indicated by Alster (2004, p. 10):[41]

> anše al-dug₄-dug₄ barag al-hun-hun-e
> Donkeys are in demand and sacks are hired.[42]

Gudam line 44 reads:

> ama-zu anše ha-ra-an-hun-e barag al hu-mu-ra-ab-be₂
> Your mother will hire donkeys for you, she will want sacks for you.

The proverb nicely reverses the sequence noun-verb, by switching the positions of the two verbs, so that whereas in Gudam anše : hun :: barag : al-dug₄, the proverb has anše : al-dug₄ :: barag : hun. The meaning of the sentence, however, escapes me. I do not think with Alster that a gross insult is meant in this context, though. Rather, irony is implied here by the fact that Gudam will have to have his own mother taking care of him, i.e. he will be as helpless as a child.

## Conclusions

Gudam resonates with motifs and phraseology which are also attested in other Sumerian literary texts. On the one hand, the presence of Lugalgabagal, the strong intertextual connections with GBH and GH version A, and the evidence from the literary catalogue N2, where Gudam is listed in the midst of the Gilgameš compositions, all situates this text within the orbit of the Sumerian Gilgameš stories. On the other hand, the bovine-like Gudam is strongly associated with the Uruk Lament's e-ne, as well as with the Akkadian Enkidu, for whom

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[41] Alster (2004:10), although I disagree with his suggestion that this may be a "gross insult."

[42] Alster (1997) comments that "the intent may be that with a demand for animals suitable for transportation purposes comes a demand for packing containers" (368).

he is almost certainly a prototype. Moreover, Gudam has links with
the Ninurta cycle, the antagonists of the goddess Inana and the
Sumerian proverb collections.

In conclusion, the complex web of connections between Gudam
and other Sumerian literary compositions makes it very difficult to
propose that Gudam is simply an alternative or earlier version of
GBH. More importantly, speculations about the prehistory of a com-
position should not forestall the exploration of its full range of inter-
textual associations within the corpus of OB Sumerian literature.

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# A SUMERIAN APOCRYPHON? THE ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE OF UR RECONSIDERED

## William W. Hallo*

In 2001, Fabienne Huber published a lengthy study of the Sumerian compositions known collectively as *The Royal Correspondence of Ur* and concluded that they were not the product of the Third Dynasty of Ur with which they purport to deal, but of the scribal schools of the Old Babylonian period, perhaps as much as three centuries later. She arrived at this conclusion primarily on linguistic grounds, arguing at length from grammatical and phonological features in the texts that placed them squarely in the later period.[1] She also considered historical and prosopographic factors, admitting that the *Correspondence* undoubtedly rests in part on historic data,[2] but that these data were distorted to suit the didactic and other purposes of the authors.[3]

Sumerian literary texts occasionally carry dates indicating when a particular exemplar was copied out by a master or student scribe—though such dates are largely confined to the first half of the 18th century B.C.E., beginning with Manana of Kiš[4] and including Hammurabi, Samsuiluna, and Rim-Sin II; at other times they can be dated by the archival texts found with them.[5] But their dates of *composition* are, by contrast, notoriously lacking, and even when external sources such as (later) literary catalogues presume to supply these, the evidence is universally suspect.[6] Modern research has therefore resorted to other criteria to make good the omission. In the case of compositions like the *Instructions of Šuruppak* or the *Hymn to the Temple of Ninhursag at Keš*, the existence of forerunners firmly datable on paleographic grounds to the Early Dynastic Period provides a terminus

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* Presented to H. L. J. Vanstiphout, with respect and admiration.
[1] Huber 2001.
[2] Huber 2001:195.
[3] Huber 2001:206.
[4] Cf. Michalowski 1995:50 ad *CT* 58:27 (*Nungal Hymn*).
[5] Hallo 1966:92; previously Hallo 1963b:167 and nn. 6–8, (mis)-cited by Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969:6; cf. Stol 1976:52f., 56f. (ad Rim-Sin II and *TRS* 50).
[6] Hallo 1996:144–147.

post quem non for the creation at least of the core of these com-
positions. In the case of the compositions attributed to the princess
Enheduanna, the existence of contemporaneous monumental inscrip-
tions with her name serves to date her to the Sargonic period; the
attribution of various compositions to her—either anciently or by
modern research—remains a much-debated point in each case.[7] The
*Temple Hymns*, for example, which according to their colophon were
composed or at least compiled by her, include one hymn in honor
of the $e_2$-hur-sag, the palace of Šulgi at Ur, which can hardly be
earlier than his reign; but whether this apparent anachronism serves
to date the entire composition or represents an isolated insert in an
earlier recension remains an open question.

  Where paleographic and other criteria fail to provide an answer,
linguistic criteria may well be resorted to for attempts to arrive at
a date of composition. Thus Jacobsen famously dated the original
composition of the *Sumerian King List* before the middle of the Ur III
period—the reigns of Amar-Sin ("Bur-Sin I") and Šu-Sin—by observ-
ing the use of the verbal forms in the plural of the verb ib-ak, "they
exercised (kingship)" and in other formulas recurring in the text.[8]
Specifically, he posited "an original version which came to an end
with Utu-hegal of Uruk and which can therefore be assigned to the
reign of that ruler"[9] or, in a later formulation, "the dating of its first
composition to the time of Utuhegal."[10] At the other end of the time
scale, Falkenstein introduced a whole category of "post-Old Babylonian
Sumerian" for compositions whose defiance of the simplest gram-
matical rules—and occasional lapses into loan translations from
Akkadian—bespoke their late composition. (I prefer to call these sim-
ply "post-Sumerian," since I regard spoken Sumerian as having sur-
vived into (Early) Old Babylonian times.)

  But linguistic criteria are not always so reliable. Even in the case
of the *Sumerian King List*, there are dissents from Jacobsen's dating,
some lesser some greater. Rowton, for example, thought that "The
original king-list is probably to be dated about the beginning of the
Third Dynasty of Ur, that is either shortly before, or shortly after

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[7]  Westenholz 1989.
[8]  Jacobsen 1939:128–135.
[9]  Jacobsen 1939:136; cf. 138.
[10]  Jacobsen 1957:125 n. 73; reprinted in Jacobsen 1970:386.

the accession of Ur-Nammu, ca. 2113."[11] Kraus dated it to the time of Ur-Ninurta of Isin.[12] I myself hold out for a date nearer the end of the Isin I Dynasty with which it concludes.[13] The reason for the apparent reluctance to rely on linguistic criteria is that, in the course of transmission via the scribal schools, compositions could well have been subject to modernization of orthography, morphology, and even lexicon to bring them au courant with the language of the scribe's time. This caveat applies in heightened degree to Huber's arguments. Let us examine one of them in some detail.

She finds eight examples of the enclitic suffix -ma in the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*, each time used in a conjunctive function between two independent phrases (clauses).[14] These examples are taken from four out of a corpus of 23 letters, and in one of them (21) only one or two exemplars display the feature. It can thus hardly be described as characterizing the corpus as a whole. She dates the appearance of the phenomenon, which is admittedly an Akkadianism, to the Early Old Babylonian period (Lipit-Ištar) in archival texts, and finds it also in certain canonical genres such as wisdom texts and literary letters.[15] All this is beyond dispute. But the reciprocal borrowing of grammatical features between Sumerian and Akkadian, as of lexemes, was an enduring consequence of the long symbiosis of the two languages and their speakers. It was the subject of the 9th Rencontre in 1960[16] and is illustrated equally well by the earlier and well-attested borrowing of Akkadian *u* into Sumerian (replacing older -bi-da) as a conjunction between nouns. Its evidentiary value for dating purposes applies only to the exemplar or exemplars in which it occurs, not to the date of first creation of any given composition.

Huber denies that such grammatical lapses could be the consequence of a progressive "*akkadisation*" of the Sumerian language during the neo-Sumerian period, or a corruption of texts undergone in the course of their transmission.[17] I question that judgment, but prefer

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[11] M. B. Rowton in *CAH* 1/1 (1970) 200; cf. Rowton 1960.
[12] Kraus 1952:44.
[13] Hallo 1963a:55 and n. 41.
[14] Huber 2001:173.
[15] We can already add model court cases; see Hallo 2002.
[16] Sollberger 1960; note especially the contributions by Edzard, Gelb, and Falkenstein.
[17] Huber 2001:172.

to move on to those of her arguments which are based on proso-
pography and history. In challenging her views, I am not motivated
by her total failure to cite even a single one of my many contribu-
tions to the discussion,[18] but by a perceived obligation to defend long
held and carefully arrived at positions.[19] This will be attempted here
under ten headings.

1. The existence of a "royal chancery," or a scribal center under
royal auspices, can be argued, if not conclusively proved, on several
grounds. The most persuasive of these is the striking correlations
among wholly different genres glorifying the king, notably date for-
mulas, royal inscriptions, and royal hymns. These correlations have
been demonstrated repeatedly and explicitly by Frayne not only in
his (unpublished) thesis but also in his contributions to the *RIM*. The
royal correspondence similarly correlates with date formulas and
inscriptions. A particularly impressive illustration is the case of Nin-
šatapada, daughter of Sin-kašid of Uruk, who appeals to Rim-Sin of
Larsa in a letter reflecting precisely the wording of the official date
formulas of Rim-Sin following his conquest of Uruk as well as his
inscriptions celebrating it.[20] As I have said elsewhere, Nin-šatapada,
or whoever was the "author" of our letter-prayer, wrote it in response
to a real historical situation, and wrote it, moreover, in full knowl-
edge of the requirements of royal phraseology. This phraseology of
the court scribes I would like to designate the "chancery style," . . .[21]
    2. Such a style, if granted, implies the existence of a royal chancery
and, unless that chancery was always and necessarily destroyed upon
the fall of a given kingdom, invites the further assumption that some
of its contents survived into subsequent dynasties. In other words,
the documents written in it, or copies or drafts of the same, could
have been preserved in it for future use by student scribes or oth-
ers. If so, what did these later scribes choose to use? Where royal
correspondence is concerned, I have long held that they chose pri-
marily or even exclusively those letters which dealt with issues of
primary concern to them and their times, not necessarily to the times

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[18] Even Hallo 1957 is cited only via Wilcke; see p. 196.
[19] See especially Hallo 1983b, concluding paragraph.
[20] Hallo 1991.
[21] Hallo 1983b:18f.

in which they are set. This would explain the abiding preoccupation of the *Royal Correspondence of Ur* with the coming of the Amorites who were, after all, ancestral to the ruling classes of the eighteenth century, or of the *Royal Correspondence of Isin* with watercourses.[22]

3. The *Royal Correspondence* is not the only genre to which this characterization applies. Others could be cited to the same effect. I will confine myself here to two related ones, the model contracts and the model court cases. The former mostly remain to be properly published and edited, and until then it remains an open question whether they were based on "functional" documents and, if so, whether these documents dated from an earlier period.[23] Model court cases are better known, and typically involve prominent citizens, e.g. of Nippur, well-known from other sources; the possibility that they were fictitious creations utilizing known names cannot be excluded, but neither can the contrary conclusion, i.e., that they represent actual cases thought worthy of inclusion in the curriculum because illustrating important points of law or ethical behavior. "A Model Court Case Concerning Inheritance" which I published in 2002 illustrates these points.[24] It is so far known in only one exemplar, and thus not demonstrably part of the (Nippur) curriculum, but "its prosopography ties it securely to Old Babylonian Nippur," specifically in the 20th and 19th centuries.[25] And "the selection of this particular case for the scribal school curriculum . . . from the presumably vast stock of authentic court cases on deposit in the archives of Nippur" may be due to the fact that it "appears to be an apt illustration" of the proverbial abhorrence of (the first-born heir's ?) driving out the younger son from the patrimony.[26]

4. Clear cases abound where literary copies of later date correlate with archival and/or monumental evidence contemporary with the events described. Apart from the case of Nin-šatapada already cited, they include in the first place the case of "The Bride of Simanum." In his article of that name, Michalowski showed conclusively that the name of Kunši-matum is preserved in the *Royal*

[22] Hallo 1983b:12.
[23] Bodine 2001 esp. pp. 53f. Cf. Hallo in Hallo and Younger 2003:307.
[24] Hallo 2002.
[25] Hallo 2002:144.
[26] Hallo 2002:151 and n. 68.

*Correspondence of Ur.*[27] Huber does not cite this article, only Michalowski's summary of it in his thesis, and his view there that the Sumerian version represents a back-translation from the Akkadian.[28] In fact, the situation is much more complex.

Kunši-matum occurs in only one letter (Michalowski's No. 6) and this letter is known in only one exemplar, the bilingual OB text *PBS* 10/4:8. Here her name occurs only in the Akkadian version; the Sumerian version misunderstood it as a masculine personal name and provided a mistaken back-translation into Kur-gammabi. But Michalowski found evidence of the correct form of the name in a number of Ur III archival texts, as well as an integral report of her history in an OB copy of Šu-Sin's royal inscriptions, albeit without name. Here is my own reconstruction of this history:

> Šimanum, in the far northwest, was too distant to be subjected militarily. It apparently retained its own Hurrian ruler, a certain Pušam, while diplomatic ties were pursued through his messenger called, interestingly enough, Puzur-Assur (Amar-Suen 7). The immediate object was a dynastic marriage, specifically a daughter of the crown-prince Šu-Sin was sent to Šimanum, intended for one of Pušam's two sons, Arib-atal or Iphuha. What happened when Šu-Sin himself succeeded to the throne can best be seen from the Old Babylonian copies of his triumphal inscriptions. According to these, it appears that an internal revolt deposed both Pušam and Šu-Sin's daughter (Kunši-matum). Šu-Sin therefore marched against Šimanum, an event commemorated in the name of his third year, and restored both the native dynasts (now perhaps as dependent governors) and his daughter.[29]

Today I would reconstruct a possible literary history of the Kunši-matum letter as follows: the relationship between Ur and Šimanum proceeded as indicated in the date formulas of Šulgi, Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin. The particular part played in it by diplomatic marriage is spelled out in Collection B of Šu-Sin's royal inscriptions, of OB date but substantiated by the king's date formulas, especially for his third year.[30] The names of the bride and of the "men of Šimanum" to whom she was affianced in some way are all well attested in Ur III

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[27] Michalowski 1975; cf. Hallo in Hallo and Younger 2003:296.
[28] Huber 2001:191.
[29] Hallo 1978:79 and nn. 81–84. Cf. also Hallo (In press: n. 73).
[30] For the emergence of dynastic or diplomatic marriage under the Ur III kings see already Hallo 1976b:31.

archival records.[31] The name of Kunši-matum was preserved in the course of transmitting the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*, but misunderstood by the time of the bilingual exemplar which is the only witness to the particular letter in question. The notion that her name would have somehow been resurrected in an Old Babylonian scribal school defies credibility. More likely, the letter "ultimately derived from genuine archival copies in the royal chanceries, as suggested by (its) many correspondences with details known from contemporaneous sources."[32]

5. A parallel case to the preceding, though not directly connected to the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*, is that of "The House of Ur-Meme."[33] In my reconstruction of the genealogy of this prominent Nippur family through five generations, covering the entire time of the Ur III Dynasty, I deliberately made use of later (canonical) as well as contemporaneous (monumental and archival) evidence. The later literary sources conformed with the contemporary ones to a degree that makes it unlikely that they were works of creative imagination. Nor do the additions and corrections proposed by Zettler for the genealogy in 1984 and 1987 affect this conclusion materially.[34] Specifically, one side of this family held the office of governor of Nippur four times, while the other inherited Ur-Meme's own position of prefect of the temple of Inanna, adding to it that of priest of Enlil. It would be possible to write a veritable novella of high life at Nippur around the fortunes of this family; perhaps, indeed, the canonical sources were preserved with some such goal in view.

One point of Zettler's reconstruction does deserve some notice here. As I had already speculated in 1977,[35] and as he agreed, the name of the last known member of the House of Ur-Meme is not Inim-Inanna, as I suggested in 1972, but Nabi-Enlil. Therewith a connection is established between the House of Ur-Meme and the text first published by Ali under the title of "*Blowing the Horn for Public Announcement*,"[36] where Nabi-Enlil appears as a former um-mi-a. That text fairly teems with personal names known from other

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[31] Michalowski 1975:717–719; Frayne 1997:287–290; add Sigrist 1983:480.
[32] Hallo in Hallo and Younger 2003:296.
[33] Hallo 1972.
[34] Zettler 1984; Zettler 1987:199–203.
[35] Hallo 1977:57 and n. 118.
[36] Ali 1964a; and Ali 1964b:113–116.

sources as at home in Nippur during the later Ur III period. One of them is Lugal-melam, governor of Nippur under Amar-Sin, when that office apparently passed out of the hands of the house of Ur-Meme for the duration of his reign. Another is Ur-DUN, the owner of the lost seal which is the subject of the text; he is the author of a literary letter included by Michalowski in his edition of the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*. The others are known from other literary documents of Old Babylonian date.[37] While it may be theoretically possible that these names were generated by the um-mi-a's themselves for insertion in such a variety of literary contexts, a more reasonable proposition would be that they reflect and preserve the reality of life at Nippur in the late Ur III period.

6. If so far we have considered the *Royal Correspondence of Ur* and other specific literary compositions from the viewpoint of probabilities—that they were, or else were not, cut out of whole cloth—it is now necessary to move closer to certainty. We can do this in connection with the well-documented history of the scribal schools and their methods. In suggesting that the *Royal Correspondence of Ur* was the product of the scribal schools of the 18th century, Mlle. Huber neglects to say how she visualizes the process which might have gone into that production. Are we to suppose that an um-mi-a ignored the models of real royal letters still at hand and instead sat down with his clay tablet and reed stylus and composed *de novo* a coherent corpus of letters employing genuine personal names, correctly identifying their official titles, and reconstructing scenarios uncannily in harmony with those attested by contemporaneous documents? Where did he find his data? Huber seems to rule out the library of the school at Nippur or the archives of the Ur III Dynasty at Ur. Is she justified in this? I think not! Here, in fact, is how I visualize the process.

The existence of scribal schools is implied, though it cannot as yet be definitively demonstrated, by the proliferation of lexical texts and other "school texts" such as mathematical exercises which can be traced back to the origins of "cuneiform" writing before the end of the 4th millennium; indeed they represent a principal means of propagating the invention of writing.[38] How were these ever more

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[37] For details see Hallo 1977:57.
[38] See e.g. Nissen 1981.

extensive lexical texts created? For the earlier ones the answer remains elusive, but beginning with the OB period, I have long suggested that the process involved was not so very different from more modern lexicographical approaches, specifically that the lexical lists represent—initially—abstractions from real archival and canonical texts which were combed for lexemes (or, in the case of the Grammatical Texts, verbal forms and other morphemes in context), and that the texts so mined date primarily to the Ur III or early OB period. A recent study of the terminology for animal parts found in an Ur III account seems to bear this out.[39]

The gradual emergence of literary texts is also best explained as the result of the existence of scribes and scribal schools as early as the Early Dynastic period, for which we have surviving exemplars of such compositions as the *Instructions of Šuruppak* and the *Keš Temple Hymn.* Together with Ur III exemplars, e.g., of portions of *Lugalbanda in the Cave of the Mountain,*[40] these add up to what I have called an Old Sumerian canon.[41] A neo-Sumerian canon began to take its place under Ur III auspices. Even though it is no longer possible to speak with certainty of Šulgi of Ur as the founder of the scribal schools at Ur and Nippur, he certainly was their patron. Nor is the existence of scribal schools in the Ur III period, or in the subsequent Early Old Babylonian period, in doubt. A few exemplars of literary texts datable by paleography to the 21st or 20th–19th centuries have survived, but more importantly, the preservation on 18th century exemplars of texts recognizably dependent on earlier models implies the continuity of textual tradition, however many changes and even distortions individual compositions may have undergone in the process of transmission.

One of the techniques of scribal training involved the copying of free-standing monuments in the open areas of Nippur and Ur, as attested both by explicit references to this technique in Sumerian compositions dealing with the life of the scribal schools,[42] and by preserved examples of the products of the "field-trips" that one can visualize in this connection. The comparison of Sargonic inscriptions

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[39] Hallo 2001a.
[40] Cohen 1976:99–101; for a fuller edition see Hallo 1983a.
[41] Hallo 1976a.
[42] Hallo 1991a:17, n. 80; with the reservations of Yoshikawa 1989.

known from both original monuments and from late (OB) copies shows that by and large the copies were reliable.[43] But even where the originals are not preserved, we can reconstruct a very likely monumental origin for other parts of the neo-Sumerian canon preserved—so far—only or mainly in canonical form, i.e. on clay tablets; one can mention here the laws of Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ištar (of the latter we actually have some stone fragments of the monumental originals), and royal hymns (here too we have at least one example known in both clay tablet and stone form).[44]

What is demonstrably true of royal inscriptions, royal law collections and royal hymns is, by analogy, likely to be similarly true, though so far only *ex hypothesi*, for royal correspondence. I visualize an initial resort to the royal archives by the first um-mi-a to venture to copy some of the originals, and thereafter generations of his successors recopying his copies for educational purposes.

The character of scribal education in the OB schools was much more sophisticated, and at the same time more traditional, than initially realized, as Vanstiphout was the first to show,[45] with Sauren following closely behind,[46] and as Veldhuis and Tinney have more recently succeeded in detailing. The elementary stage of scribal education was based on lexical texts and proverbs.[47] Beyond that, the student proceeded to mastery of what, on the medieval analogy, might be called a kind of quadrivium and "decivium" or, in Tinney's terms, a tetrad and a decad, i.e., two groups of texts which formed the core curricula of the next two stages of instruction.[48] The tetrad consisted of four traditional texts of relatively short length which were copied, probably via dictation, from model exemplars inscribed, at least at Larsa, on six-sided prisms in such a way that each standard line of text (verse) was divided over three (or occasionally two) cases. The constituent compositions were three hymns to the kings

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[43] Cf. Gelb and Kienast 1990:129: "Prinzipiell machen die Abschriften einen sehr zuverlässigen und vertrauenerweckenden Eindruck, . . ." This "reliable and confidence-inspiring impression" can be illustrated by the juxtaposition of OB copies and their Old Akkadian originals, e.g. in the case of the disc-inscription of Enheduanna, ibid. 64f.

[44] Sjöberg 1961: esp. p. 70.

[45] Vanstiphout 1978:51; Vanstiphout 1979.

[46] Sauren 1979.

[47] Veldhuis 1997. Previously Landsberger 1959.

[48] Tinney 1999.

of Isin (*Iddin-Dagan B*, *Lipit-Ištar B*, and *Enlil-bani A*) and the *Blessing of Nisaba by Enki* (nin-mul-an-gim), hereafter referred to, following Tinney, as *Nisaba A*. At 79, 63, 91(?), and 57 lines respectively, they have a total of only 290 verses and an average of 72.5 verses each.

The decad consisted of ten texts of intermediate length, adding up to 1329 verses and averaging 133 verses each.[49] Presumably they constituted the intermediate stage of post-elementary instruction. No doubt they were followed by the other texts known from the standard literary catalogues, some of which were considerably longer, and which apparently constituted the advanced stage of the curriculum.[50]

But the difference between the tetrad and the decad was more than only a matter of length, or of placement in the catalogues. Before their collective character had ever been recognized, Vanstiphout published two important analyses of one of the texts from the tetrad which indicated its primarily pedagogical function. In 1978, he edited *Lipit-Ištar B* and offered multiple reasons for concluding "that the hymn was composed in and primarily for the Edubba, to be used there as a beginner's text," and the following year he generalized from this conclusion to answer the broader question "How did they learn Sumerian?"[51] Here the criteria for the first stage of post-elementary instruction are laid out more systematically, and the hope is expressed that other texts answering to these criteria might yet be identified.[52] The four main criteria are: (1) a high percentage of lenticular school texts and other types of exercise texts; (2) illustrative uses of diverse grammatical forms; (3) brevity, and (4) preoccupation with the e-dub-ba-a and scholarly activity in general. To these might be added a fifth criterion, namely the provenience of the

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[49]  1. *Šulgi A*: 104.
      2. *Lipit-Ištar A*: 109.
      3. giš-al: 107.
      4. nin-me-šar$_2$-ra: 153.
      5. enlil-suraše: 171.
      6. *Keš Temple Hymn*: 131.
      7. *Enki's Journey to Nippur*: 129.
      8. *Inanna and Ebih*: 182.
      9. *Nungal Hymn*: 121.
      10. *Gilgameš and Huwawa*: 202.
[50] *Lamentation over the Destruction Ur*: 436; but cf. *Gilgameš and Akka*: 114.
[51] Vanstiphout 1979.
[52] See Vanstiphout 1979:126 for a summary.

six-sided prisms, which appears to be Larsa in at least three cases[53] and is likely as well in the fourth.[54]

We have already seen that the rest of the tetrad meets the third of these criteria. Let us now test it against the other criteria. The least likely candidate may seem to be *Nisaba A* (nin-mul-an-gim). Of the six exemplars in my edition of 1970, none is a lenticular or similar school-text. But four additional exemplars have been published and/or identified since then,[55] and they tell a different story. One of them is a lenticular school text,[56] one is a Sammeltafel containing, apparently, the entire tetrad,[57] and one may be a fragment of a similar collective tablet in that it includes the end of *Enlil-bani A* and the beginning of nin-mul-an-gim in that order.[58]

As for the paradigmatic character of the verbal forms chosen, verses 40–49 of *Nisaba A*, or what I called its Stanza VII, all illustrate what used to called the "pronominal conjugation,"[59] i.e., the non-finite form of a verb followed by a pronominal suffix and, typically, a temporal postposition. This construction may conceivably be a loan translation from the corresponding form in Akkadian, where it is well attested, and where it is paralleled in other Semitic languages such as Hebrew.[60] Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that the Akkadian equivalents of just these lines are best represented, or at least best preserved, in the (published) bilingual exemplar of our text. Finally, though the e-dub-ba-a as such is not mentioned in the hymn, it is, after all, addressed to Nisaba, the patron goddess of the institution, and refers indirectly to it when it speaks in line 29 of the "House of Learning of Nisaba"[61] and in lines 45f. of the

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[53] Tinney 1999:162f.
[54] I.e. nin-mul-an-gim. Implicit in the provenience of many of the Sumerian literary texts at Yale (but note the high accession number!) and the connections with Lagaš noted in my edition, Hallo 1970:121f., 133f.
[55] *ISET* 1:198 (Ni. 9942); *CT* 58:47; Cavigneaux 1996:96 and 192, no. 222; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993:95 (from Me-Turan). Civil 1983:44, n. 2, mentions in addition three Nippur texts and several small fragments from Ur, none published.
[56] Cavigneaux 1996:96 and 192, no. 222.
[57] Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993:95, H 156; cf. Tinney 1999:163.
[58] *CT* 58:47.
[59] Cf. Falkenstein 1949,149f.; Falkenstein 1950:78.
[60] Aro 1961:chs. VII, XXVIII, XXIX.
[61] Note that this Sumerian name is translated in a lexical text from Hattuša by Akkadian *bīt ni-im-ni-gal* = Nanibgal(?); cf. *MSL* 13:152:4; George 1993:91, 362; 129, 836.

"house of learning" and the "door of learning." Again it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that the single lenticular school tablet so far known of the composition cites one of these lines.

The remaining members of the tetrad can be dealt with more briefly. All of them are well represented by lenticular and other exercise texts.[62] The e₂-dub-ba-a receives honorable mention in *Iddin-Dagan B* 64–70, and in the doxologies which conclude *Lipit-Ištar B* (lines 58–61) and *Enlil-bani A* (lines 89–91). And the gradually increasing rate of difficulty of the verbal forms encountered in the successive portions of the tetrad has been noted.[63] The multiple criteria which led Vanstiphout to his conclusion regarding *Lipit-Ištar B* thus apply as well to the rest of the tetrad.

Even with all this evidence in favor of the pedagogical character of the tetrad, however, Tinney hesitates to commit himself on the question of whether their four constituents were in their entirety composed ad hoc in the scribal schools for pedagogical purposes, referring instead to "the difficulty (often impossibility) of determining for any given component in a text whether it was 'original' or additive; and for any given text whether it was an abstract exercise in scribal virtuosity or a concrete production for the latest monumental offering in Nippur."[64] This difficulty becomes even greater for the decad and the constituents of the higher levels of the scribal curriculum, which notably do *not* share the characteristics of the tetrad. Each genre and each composition should be judged on its own merits before conclusions are drawn as to its "authenticity." Let us now see how this applies to the royal correspondence.

7. The compositions of the tetrad seem designed to teach Sumerian grammar, but an equally prominent place in the scribal curriculum was devoted to mathematics. And the knowledge of applied mathematics could similarly be inculcated with the help of literary compositions. Within the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*, two letters stand out for their systematic employment of large numbers. These are the texts designated by Michalowski as 11. *Puzur-Šulgi to Šulgi* and 19. *Išbi-Erra to Ibbi-Sin*.[65]

[62] Tinney 1999:162 and nn. 20–22; 171f.
[63] Tinney 1999:61:166f.??
[64] Tinney 1999:166f.
[65] Michalowski 1976:200, 243.

The former deals with the fortification known as "the wall facing the mountain" (bad$_3$-igi-hur-sag-ga) and includes a passage (lines 15–22) specifying the lengths of wall under various officials but with so many variants that Michalowski abstained from translating it, referring instead to Wilcke's earlier translation.[66] The latter, like the response by Ibbi-Sin (Michalowski 20), deals with the purchase of grain in the north and its transport to Ur, besieged and starving. Both letters were used by Jacobsen in 1953 to reconstruct a dramatic picture of rising, indeed inflationary prices during "the reign of Ibbi-Suen,"[67] and by Wilcke in 1970 to delineate the "three phases of the collapse of Ur."[68]

But already in 1976, Kramer showed that Jacobsen's readings of the figures were in error.[69] And now Eleanor Robson has reviewed the entire Old Babylonian scribal curriculum in light of the finds from a single school at Nippur, and convincingly demonstrated that No. 19 is an exercise in applied mathematics. "The letter," she points out, "reads suspiciously like an OB school mathematics problem."[70] That makes it a prime candidate for a late invention together, presumably, with the response.

But Robson's demonstration does not condemn the entire corpus! Absent such a pedagogical or other motive for impugning its authenticity, each letter of the *Royal Correspondence of Ur* merits consideration on its own as a possible historical source. In the letter from Puzur-Šulgi (or Puzur-Numušda)[71] of Kazallu to Ibbi-Sin, for example, the juxtaposition of Subartu and Hamazi (lines 35f.) conforms to the "close connection—if not outright identity—between the two" in the third millennium, according to Steinkeller.[72] And although the very notion of Subartu is an anachronism in an Ur III context, its governor in this letter, a certain Zin(n)um, is probably "a historical figure," given the occurrence of the name in an archival text dated to the reign of Išbi-Irra.[73] The next four lines of the same letter

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[66] Wilcke 1969:3ff.
[67] Jacobsen 1953.
[68] Wilcke 1970.
[69] Introduction to *OECT* 5 (1976) 7 and n. 38; 16 and n. 6.
[70] Robson 2002:350f.
[71] The names vary with each other in Letter 11 though not in Letter 19.
[72] Steinkeller 1998:79f. and n. 17.
[73] Ibid., citing *BIN* 9:332:18.

(lines 37–40) fit into the history of Ešnunna at the close of the Ur III period as reconstructed from contemporaneous sources according to Reichel.[74] And given the fact that Numušda was the patron deity of Kazallu, the replacement of the name Puzur-Šulgi with Puzur-Numušda[75] by the governor of Kazallu is part and parcel of what I have called "the pattern of usurpation" at the end of the Ur III period.[76]

8. None of this is to deny that there are, in fact, cuneiform compositions which betray genuine traces of their late composition and which can therefore truly be described as apocryphal. The cruciform monument of Maništušu, for example, is mostly or wholly of this character.[77] It betrays the late date of its creation by its pretense at monumental character—in distinction to clay tablet copies of true monuments with or without modernizing (or archaizing) tendencies, such as the OB copies of Sargonic inscriptions from Ur and Nippur. The motive for the cruciform monument is also transparent—to give the appearance of hoary antiquity to the priestly benefits and temple privileges conveyed by it—anticipating by a millennium the *Donation of Constantine*. Similarly, the "sun tablet" from Sippar is presumably a *fraus pia* with comparable motives.

Of course much depends on the definition of apocrypha. The concept originates as early as Jerome, who thus identified the corpus of intertestamental compositions included in the canon of the Greek Bible but not of the Hebrew Bible (or of later Protestant Bibles). There is relatively little difficulty in distinguishing an apocryphal book such as Tobit from a canonical book such as Esther, or even the apocryphal additions to Daniel from the canonical book of that name, though the latter example serves as a reminder that genuine aspects of the cultural heritage may be preserved even there.[78] And the Dead Sea Scrolls (and the Nag Hammadi papyri) have taught us that the corpus can still grow with a real apocryphon like the *Genesis Apocryphon*, not just copied late but *composed* late.

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[74] Reichel 2003:359f. and n. 15.

[75] Thus (so far) only in Michalowski 1976 Letter 11, where Puzur-Numušda figures variously as governor of Bad-igihursanga (line 2; variants Puzur-Marduk, Puzur-Šulgi) and of Girlumturra (line 15, variants Šu-Marduk, Šu-Numušda.

[76] Most recently in Hallo and Simpson 1998:81f.

[77] Sollberger 1968.

[78] For an example see Hallo 1987:7 and 12, nn. 20–22; Hallo 1996:216 and nn. 23–27; Reeves and Lu 1988:267f.78.

9. Huber operates freely and repeatedly with the concept of plagiarism—indeed she treats it as a further criterion of apocryphal status.[79] But plagiarism is a modern concept, not to say conceit. It implies a high respect for originality and for another concept, that of authorship, which is notably lacking in the ancient Near East.[80] There, by contrast, "originality had to be achieved by new and possibly minor variations within familiar norms. The few exceptions to this rule strike us as the random musings of a bored scribe, or the disjointed doodles of an inattentive pupil—for example the unique exemplar of the composition which Martha Roth has edited under the title of "The Slave and the Scoundrel.""[81]

10. In two recent papers, I offered a systematic defense of the use of later literary sources for the reconstruction of ancient Mesopotamian (and biblical) history—and a cautionary critique against the uncritical privileging of contemporaneous sources for the same end. In the first paper I warned of the virus of skepticism first displayed with respect to the Sargonic period.[82] In the second I applied my strictures to the fall of empires, especially that of Ur III.[83] In Mlle. Huber's work the virus seems to have spread to the Ur III period. Yet I defy anyone to write the history of that period without its *Royal Correspondence* and other literary sources. It is not enough to condemn an entire canonical genre on linguistic or other grounds. What is long overdue is a judicious approach to the reconstruction of ancient history where the evaluation of each source proceeds hand in hand with the probability of the results achieved. There is no space for such an effort here but, if and when undertaken, it will certainly show that some members of each genre are genuine, if "modernized," survivals of original sources, while others are demonstrably late fictions.

Nearly forty years ago I raised the question: "A Sumerian Psalter?" and was inclined to answer "yes."[84] To the question: is there an entire corpus of royal correspondence—or any other genre—that can be described as a Sumerian apocryphon the answer would seem to be: no!

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[79] Huber 2001:170, 180ff., 195.
[80] See in detail Hallo 1996:144–149.
[81] Hallo 1996:148.
[82] Hallo 1998.
[83] Hallo 2001b.
[84] Hallo 1968:71 and n. 1.

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# APPEALS TO UTU IN SUMERIAN NARRATIVES[1]

## Dina Katz

Dumuzi's appeal to Utu to change his looks so that he would escape from the Gala is a well-known motif in narratives about Dumuzi's death.[2] Some variations between the different versions of the appeal can be expected. However, one version stands out: *Dumuzi and Geštinana* deviates from the rest in the line of reasoning. In this version alone Dumuzi addresses Utu as a judge. Considering that Dumuzi is an innocent victim, it is odd that justice was used as an argument in one version only. All the more since the written sources date to the Old Babylonian period, when texts depict Šamaš as the divine judge of the people. The myth of Dumuzi's death is much older than the date of its sources, so we may ask whether before the second millennium, in the Sumerian pantheon (distinct from the Semitic) Utu was assigned the office of a judge. Dumuzi's appeal is not unique and we find appeals to Utu in other Sumerian narratives: *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave* (LB I), *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana, Gilgameš and Huwawa*, the fragmentary myth *How Grain Came to Sumer*, and in three animal fables, SP coll. 5 B 71–73.[3] The range of appeals to Utu, comparable to other deities of his generation, raises the question of what divine property instigated appeals to him particularly and, whether there is a literary link between the appeals. Since some narratives are probably based on earlier traditions, possibly reflecting beliefs of different origins in time and space, the appeals to Utu deserve a closer look: who appeals, under what circumstances, and

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[1] Abbreviations are: DD: *Dumuzi's Dream* (Alster 1972); DG: *Dumuzi and Geštinana*; Er. 97: eršemma 97 (Cohen 1981: 73–83); GEN: Gilgameš Enkidu and the Netherworld; GH: *Gilgameš and Huwawa*; ID: *Inanna's Descent* (ID/S is a copy from Ur, *UET* 6 10 + Kramer 1980:303–10); LB I and II: *Lugalbanda Epic* I–II; SP coll. (Alster 1997); ETCSL—The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (www.etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk).

[2] Dumuzi's appeal is attested in DD, ID, Er. 97 and DG.

[3] Some fables are condensed narratives, but SP coll. 6.3 and SP Coll. 9 E 4 are not, and therefore would not be treated here. In a myth about Inana's capture of the Eana from An (ETCSL 1.3.5) and in GEN, Inana asks for Utu's help, but these are not appeals in the strict sense, as a prayer. Other gods were invoked for help as well: Enlil, Nana and, of course, Enki the god of magic and wisdom.

why to the Sun. It is my pleasure to present this study to Herman Vanstiphout who committed himself to the creation of scientific foundations for the study of the Sumerian poetry.

## 1. *Dumuzi*

Dumuzi's appeal to Utu is narrated in four different versions of the story of his capture and death: DD:164–182, 191–204 and 226–239; ID:368–381; Er. 97:68–82 and DG:22–37.

1.1. All the versions of the story agree about the circumstances that led to his prayer to Utu: Dumuzi was caught in the sheepfold, and needed help to save his life. It happened in the area between Uruk and Badtibira. The sources vary on some small details. According to DD Dumuzi foresaw his death in a dream, he appealed and escaped three times before he was caught,[4] and the chase started in Arali. The eršemma tells a related story: Dumuzi was caught asleep in the sheepfold, his appeal is repeated twice successively but he was helped once.[5] In ID Dumuzi was celebrating in the steppe of Kulaba (var: Larsa), he appealed and escaped once. Also according to DG Dumuzi made one appeal and escape, in the vicinity of Uruk.

1.2. A literary framework, shared verbatim by all the known versions, encloses the appeal: guruš-e $^d$utu-ra an-še$_3$ šu-ni ba-ni-in-zi, "The lad raised his hands to heaven, to Utu" // $^d$utu ir$_2$-na šu ba-ši-ni-in-ti, "Utu received his tears."[6] This framework is a formula that was used in more prayers to Utu, suggesting that the god was invoked as an astral body rather than in a temple.

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[4] The death of Dumuzi and his struggle to evade his fate are the themes and purpose of DD. Presumably therefore the chase was extended to three episodes.

[5] Two appeals (ll. 68–72 and 73–76) have no justification in the plot. The compiler of the eršemma was probably inspired by a version similar to DD. The abridged form of each appeal suggests that it was less relevant for the purpose of the eršemma than the descriptions of the Gala catching Dumuzi and devastating the sheepfold (ll. 28–59 and ll. 83–100). The choice of themes and the extent of their literary elaboration suggest that the eršemma was compiled for performance during mourning rituals for Dumuzi. Note the use of Emesal, perhaps an indication that the ritual was conducted by women as the Dumuzi cult is known for later periods. The traditions imbued in the eršemma are discussed in Katz (2003: 133–40).

[6] With small grammatical variants: DD:164/191/226; ID:369; ID/S:85; DG:22; Er.97:68 // DD:174/200/235; ID:376; ID/S:97; DG:33; Er. 97:77.

1.3. Dumuzi's address consists of three parts: first he introduces himself, then he tells Utu his request, ending with the purpose of the help.

1.3.1. The manner with which Dumuzi introduced himself to Utu was subject to great variations, some due to thematic modifications. The dominant issue is their family relations that gives Dumuzi the right for help. In DD:165 and ID:370 Dumuzi begins with their mutual personal status, a statement that he is Utu's brother-in law. ID/S:86 has [x-x-x]-me-en lu$_2$ nu-me-en, "I am [? ?] I am not just a person".[7] The import remains the same, but the attitude and the emphasis are different; rather than positively stating who he is, Dumuzi declares whom he is not, as if to prevent a rejection. Then DD:166–9 develops the family theme by shifting the focus to Dumuzi's relations with Inana, gradually building up his case. First he emphasizes that he fulfilled his cultic duties for her, then he relates their personal bond: marriage, love, and lastly sexual relations. This section is also attested in the Ur version ID/S:89–92. Yet, the sources of ID include a couplet in which Dumuzi emphasizes that he provided for the temple of Utu's mother Ningal (ID:371–2=ID/S:87–8). Thereby Dumuzi underscores that on his part he fulfilled his obligations as family member and worshipper. In the Nippur source this couplet replaces the arguments about Dumuzi-Inana love. By omitting the references to their love, the Nippur version adjusts Dumuzi's argumentation to the story that Inana caused his death.[8] Thus, the shorter Nippur version anchors the appeal solely on the relationship of Dumuzi with Utu and his mother. Even so, both ID and DD establish the request for help on Dumuzi himself: he is entitled to assistance due to his own rights and merits, his personal and cultic commitments to Utu's family.

Er. 97 has a different version of Dumuzi's appeal to Utu. One badly preserved line reads (l. 69): "You are my [father] [Utu] you are [x-x] for me."[9] The epithet "father" marks the highest rank in

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[7] Kramer 1980:304 reconstructs [dam dingir-ra] "the husband of a goddess."

[8] That Inana has no part in DD indicates that it is an independent myth. But used as the conclusion of an unrelated Inana myth it generated some inconsistencies that needed revision. In ID/S this couplet is inserted before the arguments concerning Dumuzi-Inana love. This Ur copy seems like an earlier, less edited version of ID (see more in Katz 2003:278 and n. 43).

[9] There is no room for more than two signs at the beginning of the line. The reconstruction [a-a]-gu$_{10}$-me-en is based on l. 73.

hierarchy, describing the relationship between any god and any suppliant. Therefore it occurs in more narratives, concerning other deities and suppliants.[10] Although the eršemma exhibits close literary links with DD and ID, unduly repeating Dumuzi's plea twice, this version seems to ignore Dumuzi's personal rights. It is based on general religious grounds, appealing to the god's sense of compassion. The abridged form of the prayer suggests that it seemed unnecessary to elaborate on family relations, perhaps because the first part of the eršemma makes clear who Dumuzi is.

The tradition of DD and ID was the basis for Dumuzi's appeal in DG:23–28. However, Dumuzi transformed the family theme, and instead of stressing his own rights as a family member, the emphasis was shifted to Utu's obligations as Inana's brother by reporting her misconduct. This approach enhances the import of the appeal but departs from the traditional account. The focus is on Inana, and yet he never mentions her by name. The introductory statements were abridged to a single sentence: "Utu, I am your friend, I am the young man you know." Hereafter Dumuzi continues in the second person. Four short phrases outline the whole plot of ID; first he points to her as: "Your sister whom I took for a wife." Thus, instead of asserting his ties with the family, Dumuzi stresses Utu's own ties and responsibility as her brother, which obligates him to act. Subsequently, he presents his case: because "She" must descend to the netherworld, "She" proposed him as a substitute.[11] Dumuzi concludes with the ultimate argument, completely detached from other versions, he emphatically demands justice: "Utu you are a righteous judge, please do not deceive!" Disengaged from personal relations at last, the Sun is invoked as the god of justice, best known from Akkadian sources of the second and first millennia. Thus, DG gradually builds

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[10] This epithet was used in ID for the appeals of Ninšubur to Enlil, Nana and Enki in ID:185 (190, 195); 199 (204,209); 212 (217,226), for obvious reasons. See also the appeal of Gilgameš to Enlil and Enki in GEN:225 (230); 233 (238), which is probably dependent on the story of ID (for more details see Katz, 2003:85 n. 44 and passim). In the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* 340–41 Nana appeals to "father Enlil." See also *PSD* A/I, 34–6 s.v. a-a.

[11] Note that according to DG the Gala went to Uruk deliberately to send Inana to the netherworld, she panicked and gave Dumuzi out of fear, not as a punishment. This interpretation seems to be reflected also in the appeal (DG:25–26) by $e_{11}$-de$_3$, which may be analysed as a participle expressing a compulsory prospective action "she must descend." The compulsory descent may also contain an allusion to the 'me' of Inana; see Farber-Flügge (1973:19–20).

up a legal case. Whereas in DD and ID Dumuzi demands to imple-
ment his rights as family member, in DG he speaks in legal terms,
demanding to implement the right of an innocent victim for justice.[12]

1.3.2. The request from Utu: "after you have changed my hands
into gazelle (var: snake) hands after you have changed my feet into
gazelle (var: snake) feet," is common to all versions,[13] except for DG,
where the formula was modified: DG:29. šu-ga$_2$ u$_3$-mu-e-kur$_2$ uktin-
mu u$_3$-mu-e-bal, "After you have changed my hands, altered my
appearance." The phrase preserves the first element of the original
parallelism, slightly deviating from the version with muš,[14] and its
second member states the result. In meaning it does not add nor
curtail Dumuzi's wish, but reduces the formula to its pure essence.[15]

1.3.3. The purpose of Dumuzi's plea, to save his life, ends all the
versions. The details and their literary expression, however, split into
three accounts. DD narrates three successive appeals from different
hiding places. The purpose is shaped as a formula, in which only
the name of the next hiding place changes: "Let me save my life,
to Kubirešdiladare (173)// to the house of old Belili (199) // (234)
to the holy sheepfold, the sheepfold of my sister." This version under-
lines the danger to Dumuzi's life, but only a single source (ms. m)
explains from whom: "Let me escape my Gala." ID and Er. 97 link

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[12] For that reason we probably should read UTU as Šamaš.

[13] šu-mu šu-maš-da$_3$ (var. ID: muš) u$_3$-mu-ni-šum$_2$ giri$_3$-mu giri$_3$-maš-da$_3$ (var. ID: muš) u$_3$-mu-ni-in-šum$_2$ (DD:170–71/197–98/232–33, Er.97:70/70a–71, in Emesal, and ID:373–74 (snake) has only one source. Both a snake and a gazelle move swiftly, so in principle each suits Dumuzi's intention. Since, however, the image of a limbed snake is abnormal the variant maš-da$_3$ is preferable.

[14] muš-sag-kal in l. 31 seems to reflects the version with muš. Perhaps the change was made because snakes have no limbs. muš-sag-kal = ṣar-ṣa-ru, MSL VIII/2, 8:29; CAD Ṣ, 115 s.v. ṣarṣaru C translates "important, noble snake."

[15] DG employs the materials of ID but accounts that are not essential for its purpose were omitted and long involved descriptions were summarized to their sheer essence. For instance, ID's long introduction about Inana's wish to control the netherworld and its consequences were replaced by the decision of the Gala to go to Uruk and order Inana to descend to the netherworld; or, instead of the long descriptions of Inana donning her attire and undressing at the gates, the Gala demanded that she would not get dressed. The descriptions of the Gala, however, are narrated in greater detail and with much creativity. The choice and rearrange-ment of the material indicates that DG was aimed to minimize Inana's liability for Dumuzi's death and, to shift the blame to the Gala. The text of DG is discussed in Katz (2003:289–300).

Dumuzi's danger with the Gala by a common phrase (with minor variants): "Let me escape my Gala let them not size me."[16] Since no hiding place is mentioned the single appeal and escape seem planned. The eršemma repeats the whole section, ll. 70–72 = 74–76, indicating that the text was also influenced by the recurring escapes in DD. The version of DG integrates the elements of Dumuzi's request and purpose of both DD and ID into an undivided whole: DG:30–32. "Let me escape the hands of my Gala, let them not seize me! Like a Sagkal snake that crosses field and the mountain, Let me save my life at the place of sister Geštinana."

## 2. *Lugalbanda*

The closest literary parallel to Dumuzi's appeal is found in Lugalbanda's prayers in the mountain cave.[17] Lugalbanda, like Dumuzi, faced death and prayed for help to save his life. Left alone in the cave, he prayed to each of the three major astral bodies: first to the setting Sun, then to Inana as the raising evening star, and finally to Nana, as the rising moon. At dawn Lugalbanda was healed, and then he prayed in gratitude to the rising Sun. Thus, like Dumuzi in DD there is a sequence of three appeals and beneficial reactions. They differ, however, in that Dumuzi prayed three times to Utu alone, whereas Lugalbanda prayed to three different astral deities. In addition, Dumuzi was not saved despite Utu's assistance, whilst the combined help of the three gods restored Lugalbanda's health and saved his life.[18]

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[16] DD ms. m 172. [gal₅-la₂] gal₅-la₂-mu ga-ba-da-an-ze₂-er; ID 375. gal₅-la₂-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ha-za-ne. The eršemma is probably a corrupted form of this phrase: Er. 97 72. gal₅-la₂-e-na gi₄-ba-e-de₃-kar nam-m[a-ni-i]b-dab-ne. Since the involvement of the Gala is inherent to the plot of ID, presumably DD m:172 is a later addition.

[17] The lines are numbered according to the electronic edition: ETCSL, 1.8.2.1: 148–171; cf. Wilcke 1969, 79:144–171 and Black 1998:179–181. On the structure and interpretation of the stories of Lugalbanda see Vanstiphout 2002 with previous literature. In this article Vanstiphout argues, rather convincingly, that LB I and II are two parts of one story, and that the rite de passage, which was already recognized in LB I (Lugalbanda's prayers form a part of it) envelops both narratives.

[18] At this point the likeness to the biography of Dumuzi is fundamentally reversed. Up to now both were subject to a similar experience and both benefited from Utu's involvement. However, Dumuzi's escapes from his killers just postponed his death. The dying god is doomed to die and resurrect in eternal cycle, this is his real essence. So, his experience leads to death before he regains life. For Lugalbanda a

2.1. Lugalbanda's prayer to Utu is much longer than Dumuzi's.[19] The literary frame of his prayer is a broaden version of the formula that introduces prayers to Utu: "When he lifted his face to heaven, to Utu, as to his own father he wept to him. In the mountain cave he raised his pretty hands" // "Utu accepted his tears" (ll. 148–150// 171).[20] The formula, "he raised his hands to heaven to Utu," was expanded to incorporate the descriptions of Lugalbanda crying and his location in the mountain. Thereby it also introduces the themes of the prayers to Utu and Inana. The existing expression for weeping, "he shed tears and cried bitterly,"[21] was modified to encompass the expectations of Lugalbanda from Utu: "as to his own father." This simile, directed to the god's sense of compassion, generates an image of a family-like bond. It intensifies the feeling of Lugalbanda's distress and Utu's responsibility towards him.

The prayer to Utu deals with the threat of death away from home, unattended by family to perform the mourning ritual. The first part (ll. 151–4) tells in a progressive parallelism Lugalbanda's problem and his request: nam-ba-tu-tu-de₃-en, "may I no longer be ill." The fear of death is made manifest by the description of the grieving relations, and enhanced in the concluding statement: "Let me not be swept away in the mountains like a figurine!"[22] Thus Lugalbanda asserts that he should be treated as a human being rather than as a discarded human-shaped object. Utu answered his prayer and infused him with energy: "He sent his vigour down into the mountain cave" (l. 171).

Unlike Dumuzi, whose specific wish was fulfilled after each prayer so that he made an escape, the setting Sun did not heal Lugalbanda completely. Thus, he turned to Inana, the evening star.

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similar procedure is an introduction to a new significance in life, a transformation from the anonymity which marked his existence at the beginning of the narrative until he was saved. Thus it leads to new life, eventually to be deified.

[19] The text is expanded by means of literary devices. Progressive parallelisms and existing expressions: l. 158. usar ama-mu e₂-a cf. SP coll. 2.8; ll. 162–3 compare *The Instructions of Šuruppak* 276–77; l. 165–66. a-gin₇ ki lul-la and še-gin₇ sahar šeš; compare *Nanše Hymn* 220–21 (Heimpel 1981:96) and *The Death of Ur-Namma* 58 and 69; l. 167. edin ki-nu-zu compare LSUr 332.

[20] The same formula encloses also his prayers to Inana and Nana. Also Inana's reaction in l. 198 repeats Utu's in l. 171.

[21] See George (2002).

[22] L. 170. dim₃-ma-gin₇ kur-ra muš₃ nam-ba-an-tum₂-mu.

2.2. The prayer to Inana, enclosed in exactly the same framework, deals with Lugalbanda's wish to be at home, as opposed to the mountain cave. Lines 185–6 are an existing saying that emphasizes his fear to die away from home.[23] Lugalbanda ends with a request from Inana: "Let me not be swept away in the hidden cypress mountain."[24] The first part is a repetition of the request from Utu, and the second indicates his present location, complementing his longing to be home. Thereby, it fits in the literary structure of the episode and expands the theme from the state of Lugalbanda's body to his whereabouts. Inana, "Vigorously she put him to a sun-like sleep. She envelops him with contentment as with a woollen garment."

2.3. Lugalbanda's prayer to Nana-Suen closes the triangle, and should bring the episode to the desired conclusion. Structurally the prayer adapts to the previous two, but thematically it is a hymn in praise of Nana-Suen as a judge, lover of justice, and guardian of the innocent. Lugalbanda's predicament is never mentioned. As expected, Suen gave him life (nam-ti), and invested in his feet the power to stand firmly. Thus, the favourable option that his comrades wished as they left him (ll. 124–126) was literally fulfilled.

2.4. Subsequently, at sunrise, surrounded by his protective spirits, revived and grateful, Lugalbanda lifted his face to heaven in a second prayer to Utu, the rising sun. It begins with the same formulaic opening of the framework, but now he chanted a hymn of praise [25] Thus, as a natural development of the plot, the second prayer to Utu signifies that he was fully recovered.[26]

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[23] Compare *UET* 6, 237, in Alster (1997:307); see also Hallo 1990:214. A lonely death in an unknown place means that funeral ritual cannot be performed, and consequently the spirit would not rest in the netherworld.

[24] *PSD* A/II, 166, 2.3 s.v. $a_2$-$ur_2$—hidden secret place. Wilcke (1969:191) and ETCSL 1.8.2.1:196 translate "limbs", perhaps because Lugalbanda survived due to his ability to stand on his feet. However, since the prayer deals with his fear to die far away in solitude "hidden" seems preferable.

[25] Almost each phrase has an analogy or literal parallel in other texts. The exclamation za-e-da nu-me-a, "without you," is a formula in a long section of complementary parallelisms in the Old Babylonian Incantation to Utu and the Hymn to Utu; see Alster 1991: 44–47, 39–66 and Cohen 1973: 6, 15–28 (resp.). The epithet a-a sag-$gi_6$-ga—"father of the black headed people" (l. 240) is not attested in connection with Utu/Šamaš before the OB period.

[26] The use of the opening formula suggests that this phrasing was the normal introduction to a prayer to Utu. The formulaic closure is superfluous in this prayer so it was omitted.

The climax, however, is reached right afterwards: as Lugalbanda comes out of the cave he receives the food and water of life and consumes them.[27] Thus ends a process by which Lugalbanda was transformed from an anonymous deserted dying man into an immortal. This is not to say that he had become a god, but he did acquire superhuman powers that enabled him to survive in the mountains, and prove him worthy of divine election before his return to civilization.[28]

## 3. *Gilgameš and Huwawa*

In *Gilgameš and Huwawa* Gilgameš prayed to Utu for a very different reason. Enkidu demanded that Utu should be informed before they leave for the cedar mountain, because this region is in the god's particular concern.[29] Since this prayer is a preventive measure, the circumstances are different than in the prayers of Dumuzi and

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[27] How did the food and water of life appeared depends on the identity of zi-du ša$_3$ kuš$_2$-u$_3$ $^d$en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ka "the honest one who calms(?) Enlil's heart." Note that in LB II 100 this epithet describes the Anzu bird, perhaps not by coincidence. Yet, in LB I 42 it seems to describe Enmerkar.

[28] On the meaning of this particular passage I slightly disagree with Vanstiphout (2002) who maintains that the consumption of these materials brought about Lugalbanda's healing. After Lugalbanda's prayer to the moon, we read in l. 226: "Suen received his tears and gave him life (nam-ti)." This statement cannot be discarded as a mere manner of speech. Rather, it marks the third and final stage of his healing, his revival before sunrise. Subsequently Lugalbanda was indeed surrounded by his protective spirits, while the evil god who made him ill stepped aside, and only then he burst in a prayer of thanksgiving praising Utu. All this is told before he received the food and water of life. Since the plot develops in a linear sequence, the response of the gods to his prayers in the cave indicates that he was already healed. Therefore, the consumption of these substances would have no meaning unless it bestowed him with immortality. The belief that consuming the food and water of life grants immortality is confirmed by the endeavours of Gilgameš to find this plant, and in the story of Adapa. I agree with Vanstiphout that Lugalbanda underwent a rite de passage which transformed him into a holy man. However, it seems to me that it is immortality which sets off the transformation and made the difference between him and his comrades. The transformation of Lugalbanda to immortal is necessary for his biography because it initiates the process by which the young man from Uruk became eventually a divinity. As far as I know, this is the only passage which can reveal how Lugalbanda acquired the most significant property of a god—immortality.

[29] GH version A 9–12, B 23–28; ETCSL 1.8.1.5 and 1.8.1.5.1. A double parallelism in the *Incantation to Utu* 33–5 (Alster 1991:43) points to the cedar mountain as the "mountain of the sunset."

Lugalbanda. Gilgameš invoked Utu in Uruk and accompanied the prayer with a ritual.[30] As it was not under duress the timing seems important: at sunrise, like the recovered Lugalbanda.

Later in the same narrative, when Huwawa lost its defences and was caught by Gilgameš, he seemed to appeal to Utu for help. Huwawa argued that he is an orphan who was brought up by Utu, implying that the god acted as an adopting father. In this manner he aims at the god's sense of responsibility and his own right to get help. This argument is similar to Dumuzi's claims. The allusion to Dumuzi's appeal to Utu intensifies the image of Huwawa's distress. However, Huwawa actually turned for help to Gilgameš, who also accepted his tears and was willing to spare his life. It appears, therefore, that the role of the compassionate saviour was assigned to Gilgameš. The exchange of roles marks a deviation from the common literary pattern, but it serves the purpose of the narrative to glorify Gilgameš and enhances it.

## 4. *Ninazu and Ninmada*

Utu's concern in the "mountain" is demonstrated in yet another appeal, in the myth known as *How the Grain Came to Sumer*.[31] The event took place in the realm of the gods. Enlil gave to the kur the innuha barely, named "the abundance of Kalam (the Land),"[32] and then closed the

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[30] Note that the formulaic framework of the prayer was modified accordingly, but its closure have a direct parallel in DD 174–5 ms. o (Ur). See also Ninsun's prayer to Šamaš, on the roof in Gilg. III 37–45.

[31] *TuMNF* 3, 5; Wilcke (1976:15); ETCSL 1.7.6 with previous bibliography. This is the only source, and it ends in the opening of the formulaic framework of the appeal, so the full story is unknown. This tablet is probably the first of an edition on several tablets. There are more accounts about the beginning of agriculture in Sumer, which suggests that several local traditions co-existed and were handed down from the third millennium. The focus on the innuha barely and the involvement of Ninazu, whose status was declining toward the end of the third millennium, suggest an early date for the origin of this version. Note that the incipit has a parallel in *Lahar and Ašnan* 24 (Alster and Vanstiphout 1987).

[32] According to *CAD* I, 151 the innuha barely disappeared from the "economic scene" after the Ur III period. It is attested in some later rituals, medical and magical texts. These few attestations do not justify its description as "the abundance of the Land" and, therefore, it may suggest that the narrative is earlier. Yet, it is uncertain whether we can take the description of this barley literally, whether it ever had high economic value. Perhaps the reference to that particular barley evolve from its magical use and, its description is a literary means to achieve another purpose of the myth.

passages at the hills (hur-sag). When Ninazu wished to bring the innuha barely from the kur to Sumer (ki-en-gi), Ninmada advised him to ask Utu for help since they had no permission from Enlil to do so. The opening of the formulaic framework of the appeal to Utu was adapted to the current situation: l. 31. $^d$utu $^{giš}$ig 70–am$_3$ šu mu-na-an-zi—"He raised his hands to Utu of the 70 doors." How Ninazu and Ninmada explained the matter to Utu and how they managed to bring the innuha barley to Sumer we do not know.[33]

The event occurred in most ancient times, before civilization, but was related from the perspective of civilized Sumer. In ll. 8–9 the narrator employs three geographical terms: kur, kalam and hur-sag. kalam and hur-sag are terms of actual geography. kalam designates the heartland of the Sumer (in political terms: ki-en-gi), and hur-sag are the low hills that border east Sumer. The word kur, however, has both actual and mythological meanings. In terms of actual geography kur is the name of the high mountains region beyond the hur-sag. In mythological terms kur signified the netherworld. kur and kalam represent bipolar geographical realities.[34] The depiction of the innuha as "the abundance of Kalam" suggests that in contrast to kalam, in kur the innuha is unproductive and worthless. In that sense the term kur reflects the mythological reality of the netherworld. This meaning coincides with the divine nature of Ninazu and Ninmada, since both chthonic deities related to snakes.[35] But particularly with Ninazu, whom the third millennium Sumerian venerated as a netherworld deity.[36]

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[33] Ninazu and Ninmada acted behind Enlil's back (ll. 22–27), therefore it is very likely that the myth holds more than just the matter of the innuha barley, such as a reaction of Enlil. I suspect that it tells how the two deities were caught and punished, and that this myth tells how Ninazu became the young dying god and Ereškigal his mourning mother. It may be the "lost myth" to which I refer in Katz (2003: 387–8 and 434). For a detailed treatment of this suggestion see now my note in NABU 2004/2, p. 34.

[34] The bipolarity kur/kalam as a comprehensive geographical concept which embraces mythological and actual geographical realities, and the chronological framework of its use are discussed in detail in Katz (2003:105–12). The bipolarity kur/kalam suggests that the myth is not later than mid third millennium. This text harmonizes and complements my conclusions and should have been treated in the book. Regrettably, however, I overlooked its significance at the time.

[35] For Ninmada see RLA 9, 462 with previous literature.

[36] On Ninazu see Katz (2003:428–42, particularly p. 428 and fn. 164) for his agricultural aspect. A tradition that attributed to him the introduction of barley to Sumer, implies that he was a dying god associated with grain. Perhaps, therefore, the plough in the Ešnuna iconography was originally his attribute, rather than Tišpak's.

The concept of kur, as a comprehensive geographical term, embracing actual and mythological realities, explains in what capacity Utu was instrumental for Ninazu. Lines 9 and 24 indicate that the access to the kur was blocked at the hills, and imply that the two deities were outside.[37] Utu, however, reaches kur daily, rising from and descending to the tops of this high mountain range, beyond the hursag. The epithet "heavenly Utu" indicates that his post was not inside the kur, but on the border line, at the mountaintop, where kur touches heaven. The designation "Utu of the 70 Doors" (l. 31) indicates that he guarded the access to the kur, and in this capacity he was approached by Ninazu and Ninmada.

### 5. *Animal Fables*

Three animal fables, all involving a wolf, include a prayer to Utu. SP coll. 5:B72[38] is about the wolf who was caught in a thorny bush and invoked Utu for help, swearing that in return he will never again eat a sheep. A hungry wolf, however, cannot keep such a promise. In SP coll. 5:B73 the wolf complains to Utu that he is helpless against the resistance of his victims. The introduction to each fable indicates that at their background is the standard appeal to Utu: 5:B72. ur-b[ar]-ra . . . ᵈutu-ra an-na-ab-be₂; and 5:B73, ur-bar-ra ᵈutu-ra ir₂ i₃-še₈-še₈. Also the circumstances bear similarity to other occasions of appeal to Utu: unanticipated troubles occur in the open countryside requiring immediate help. The allusion to the appeals to Utu cannot be incidental. A fable is a compressed narrative, and its power is in the witty style and direct message. The purpose of these fables was achieved by employing the traditional pattern of appeals to Utu. This means created a ridiculous situation, because the image of Utu is in sharp contrast to the nature of the wolf. The wolf is the enemy of man and domestic animals, whereas Utu is their friend and guardian. Hence, the use of the appeals to Utu emphasizes the cruel and deceitful nature of the wolf. That it was a calculated use is sug-

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[37] It also implies that at the time Ninazu was not yet a netherworld god and thereby supports my assumption that the lost rest deals with the consequences of acting behind Enlil's back, namely why and how Ninazu ended up as a netherworld deity.

[38] Alster (1997:133).

gested by a third example of prayer to Utu, SP coll. 5:B71. This prayer
is not for help but in praise. When Utu asks the wolf how long he
will praise him the wolf answers "until I grow fat". The wolf is mock-
ing Utu, the protector of domestic animals, by praising him for con-
suming his protégés. The quality of a fable to deliver a direct message
suggests that whether the wolf prays for help or in praise,[39] it reflects
a normal human custom. At the same time, since a fable reflects
aspects of human behaviour the wolf is also a metaphor.

### 6. *The Shepherds of Nisaba*

In *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana* a sorcerer sent from Aratta devastated the
pen and sheepfold of the goddess Nisaba in Ereš. Her shepherd and
cowherd then invoked the rising sun.[40] Their reaction seems odd
because unlike other suppliants they did not suffer any personal dan-
ger. The damage was inflicted on the cult of Nisaba (ll. 264–269),
and when a cult is interrupted I would expect an appeal to the great
gods rather than to Utu.[41] An appeal to Utu, however, endows an
event with a sense of emergency, because the sun is present directly
everywhere. Yet, their timing at sunrise suggests that rather than
immediately, the shepherd and the cowherd invoked Utu according
to the regular schedule of his cult. Also, their appeal is not enclosed
in the formulaic framework, but has an introductory line instead:
"crouched in the dust they reached for Utu" ($^d$utu an-ta i-im-gi$_4$-gi$_4$),
and then they merely describe the devastation. Then an old woman
appears, who would overpower the sorcerer, as if sent by Utu.[42] In
the damaged passage there is no room for a request from Utu, nor
for the usual remark that the god received it. Thus, their prayer
departs from the typical structure of the appeals to Utu, and seems
more like a protest than a plea for help.

However, in the devastation of the sheepfold and the ensuing
prayer to Utu this episode follows two consecutive themes of the
myth of Dumuzi's death. Perhaps, therefore, their prayer to Utu was

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[39] Pray in praise: when Lugalbanda emerged healed from the mountain cave,
LB I 237–63; Ziusudra as the flood receded, ETCSL 1.7.4, Segment D.
[40] Ll. 211–17 (Berlin 1979: 54–55; ETCSL 1.8.2.4).
[41] Compare for instance the case of *Inana's Descent to the Netherworld*.
[42] Solution by a wise old women is a prevalent literary motif.

inspired by the parallel devastation of Dumuzi's sheepfold, conceived
as a device to introduce the wise old women and proceed to the
next episode.


## 7. *Conclusions*


Three of the appeals treated here are enclosed in a full literary frame-
work: namely those of Dumuzi, Lugalbanda and Gilgameš. The intro-
ductory phrase depicts a gesture of praying to an astral deity, and
the closure states that Utu received the tears of the suppliant. A sim-
ilar opening phrase is uttered by the wolf, taking into account that
the beast has paws rather than hands, and that the closure section
was omitted since it is irrelevant to the fable. The second fable uses
the expression: $ir_2$ $i_3$-še$_8$-še$_8$ "(he) cried," a common introduction of
appeals to other gods by human beings as well as by deities.[43] It
appears that appeals to Utu were usually introduced by a conventional
formula, which indicates that the prayer was conducted facing the
sun. This may explain why the appeal of Ninazu and Ninmada also
begins with the same gesture, although their circumstances are different
from that of human beings.[44] This formula was not used to intro-
duce the prayer of the shepherd and cowherd of Nisaba, but then
their problem was not personal.

A common feature of the petitioners is that their appeal concerns
a problem outside the urban centres, in the countryside, or in the
mountains. The reason for pleading with Utu is expressed in Lugal-
banda's second prayer, especially LB I:245–6: Utu is the companion
and protector of the lonely wayfarer. Since people are active during
daytime, the Sun is the only deity with whom they have eye con-
tact at all times, and when in trouble they can appeal directly. Before
Gilgameš left for the mountains he appealed to secure Utu's help if

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[43] Nana to Enlil: LSUr 340; Ninšubur to Enlil, Nana and Enki: ID 184, 198,
211; Gilgameš to Enlil and Enki: GEN 224, 232 ; Inanna to Utu: GEN 89. The
same meaning in a different expression is Gudam to Inana: Gudam 29 and Huwawa
to Gilgameš: GH A 152–3.

[44] The fragment (ll. 27–30) implies that at the time of the event they were in
the same region as the sleeping Utu. When the story was told Ninazu was a full
member of the netherworld pantheon, and when this tablet was copied—it was sub-
terranean. But it seems to me an unlikely explanation.

needed. The explicit reason is that the mountains region is in Utu's concern. For the same reason Ninazu turned to him. Lugalbanda is already in the mountain, ill alone. The wolf, Dumuzi, and probably the shepherd and cowherd of Nisaba, are where the herds are grazing, in the countryside. The short fable of the wolf who thanked Utu for his meal mocks the universal availability of Utu, the guardian of the wolf as well as of his prey.

The prayer of the shepherd and cowherd of Nisaba does not include a request to the god, it is merely implied by a description of the devastation. Yet, the devastation of the sheepfold and the pen is a calamity common to Dumuzi and the shepherd and cowherd of Nisaba. That may explain their appeal to Utu rather than to the great gods. Also Huwawa does not utter a request. But then, he begged Gilgameš for mercy, so the appeal to Utu seems as a means to intensify the emotional situation.

Dumuzi is the only petitioner who demonstrates, in detail, that he has the right for help. The claim that he fulfilled his cultic obligations implies that the expectation for divine help is universal. The appeals of the wolf demonstrate how universal it is. But Dumuzi puts the emphasis on the family ties, including the cultic aspect, and therefore it seems that the family relations were the real motive for addressing Utu rather than another deity. Huwawa, too, used Utu's personal responsibility as an argument. Dumuzi's extensive explanations, however, may have a thematic function: extra arguments accentuate the futility of his escapes, because Utu can change Dumuzi's looks but not his destiny. In DG the cultic reasons were abandoned but the family relations remain central. However, these relations were handled from a different perspective, which created a new argument: the family links were used to support a legal case. Rather than stressing his own rights as family member and loyal worshipper, Dumuzi focused on Utu's responsibilities as family member and a judge, passionately demanding justice.

The sharp turn in Dumuzi's arguments raises the question of what inspired the deviation of DG from the conventional line of Dumuzi's argumentation. The interpretation of DG to the events that led to his death, and particularly the portrayal of the Gala indicate that the text is late. The story was based on Sumerian sources, but it does not adhere to their original concerns. The Gala are characterized as the ultimate evil, worse than their image in the incantations against

evil spirits. This marks the final development of the literary Gala motif, and suggests that DG dates to the Old Babylonian period.[45] In sources from the Old Babylonian period the principal function of the Sun is of a judge. Perhaps, when DG was composed at the beginning of the second millennium, the current essence of the Sun's divinity was added to the appeal to Utu. But even when innocence served as an argument, justice was not pursued, and the issue was dropped.

The Sumerians did not lack a sense of justice,[46] and in principle a deity is expected to observe justice, however, it does not make every god a divine judge. We note that the last prayer of Lugalbanda in the cave is a demand for justice, and yet, not from Utu. Justice is the theme of his appeal only to Nana-Suen. Attributing the role of judge to the chief god of Ur suggests that the Ur III kings did not regard the Sun as a judge, at least not in the official court theology.[47] In Sumerian sources of the third millennium Utu appears as a young supportive hero, whom people regard as an immediate guardian and aide in case of need. The dying Lugalbanda appealed to Utu's sense of compassion, like in his prayer to Inana. Similarly, Gilgameš prayed to him while still at home, and Utu explicitly accepted his tears with compassion. So also Dumuzi in DD and ID.

It seems remarkable that only DG questioned Dumuzi's death in legal terms. Since, however, the issue was merely introduced and then abandoned one may argue that Dumuzi did not seek for legal measures; the dying god is doomed to die.[48] Nonetheless, the Old Babylonian version of DG addressed Utu also as a judge, and thereby raising the possibility that earlier it was not his divine office. Presumably, therefore, the author of DG was influenced by the contemporary official function of the Sun in the pantheon.

A close reading of the literary appeals to Utu reveals that they have structural or thematic features in common, and thereby creates the

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[45] At that time the Gala appear for the first time in the incantations. Few grammatical forms support that date, such as the imperative um-ta-ga$_2$-ar (l. 8) cf. the OB incantations UHF 353–6, 506–7, 673–4 etc.

[46] The concept of justice is explicitly conveyed in the texts of Ur-Namma and Šulgi, but already indicated in earlier textual sources.

[47] Passages in Šulgi hymns that mention Ištaran rather than Utu as the god of justice are *Šulgi B* 264; *Šulgi X* 142–4; *Šulgi O* 142. See also *Nanše Hymn* 237. This does not contradict the possibility that at the same time the Semitic population worshipped Šamaš as a judge.

[48] Fate and justice are fundamentally different. The two concepts are confronted in *The Death of Ur-Namma*, particularly when the dead king and Inana protest against the change of Ur-Namma's fate.

impression of a paradigmatic treatment. Surely, similar circumstances can produce similar literary solution, but in different situations one may expect another, and yet, there is more than an address to the same deity. Ninazu was not in trouble and yet needed Utu's service, but although a deity himself, his address is introduced by the conventional formula for human prayers to Utu, adapted to his needs rather than to his circumstances. Why the shepherds of Nisaba prayed to Utu rather than to the great gods, and why Huwawa reminded Utu of his personal responsibility while he actually appealed to Gilgameš, can be explained as allusions to Dumuzi's appeal. Considering the affinities of all the appeals to Utu with one or more aspects of Dumuzi's appeal, as well as the prevalence of the mythological narratives about Dumuzi's death in the school curriculum, there may have been a literary link between the sources. It is not impossible that Dumuzi's appeal was the model for the literary appeals to Utu.

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## *MAN AND HIS GOD:*
## A WISDOM POEM OR A CULTIC LAMENT?

### Jacob Klein

In one of his seminal articles on the study of genre, Herman Vansti-phout reaches the conclusion that in spite of the numerous difficulties hampering generic analysis of Mesopotamian literature, there are indications that "a concept of genre was present in Mesopotamia, and it can be recuperated."[1] In another instructive article on the same subject, he draws attention to the "stylistic patch-work technique" of ancient authors, who were using "structural elements from different genres and stylistical registers" to construct new and atypical liter-ary compositions.[2] I dedicate this study in the complex generic nature of Man and his God to my colleague and good friend, Herman, with the hope that it will serve as a modest illustration to these and other general principles expressed in his theoretical essays.[3]

As had been pointed out by Jacobsen[4] and others, a (relatively) refined and developed attitude of personal religion first appears in Mesopotamia in the beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.E., and it is documented in two literary genres: The Letter Prayers and the Penitential Psalms. The Letter Prayers, which include letters of peti-tion, addressed to gods or deified Sumerian kings, have been stud-ied and placed in literary-historical perspective by Hallo, in a general study, published more than three decades ago,[5] and in subsequent editions of individual letter prayers from Larsa.[6] The so called Penitential Psalms are represented, according to Jacobsen, mainly by two compositions: an Old Babylonian dialogue between a righteous

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[1] Vanstiphout (1986:7).
[2] Vanstiphout (2000:707–10).
[3] See further the volume on genre in pre-modern literatures, which he co-edited with Bert Roest (Roest and Vanstiphout 1999).
[4] Jacobsen (1970:44–46; 1976:152).
[5] Hallo (1968); for a bibliography of the letter prayers, see ibid. pp. 88–89; also Hallo (1981). See, further, Michalowski (1980/3: 56, sub No. 5) and Böck (1996: 3–23).
[6] See Hallo (1976, 1981, 1982, 1991). For a fragment of an OB letter prayer in Akkadian, see Kraus (1971).

sufferer and his god, published by Nougayrol in 1952;[7] and the Sumerian poem under discussion, which was published by Kramer in 1955, under the title "'Man and his God': A Sumerian Variation on the 'Job' Motif."[8] Although the above two compositions were subjected to several philological studies and appeared in a number of different translations, their literary structure and genre had never been systematically examined. A closer examination of these two poems reveals not only a considerable similarity between them with regard to content and structure; but also a common difficulty in determining their generic affiliation. The purpose of the present study is to try to determine the genre and cultic background of the Sumerian poem in the light of its Babylonian contemporary parallel. We will also comment on the relationship of our poem to the Mesopotamian and Biblical compositions dealing with the problem of the "righteous sufferer" on the one hand, and with the first millennium eršaḫuĝa prayers on the other hand. I will henceforth refer to the Babylonian dialogue as the *Babylonian Man and his God*; the Sumerian poem I will call alternately the *Sumerian Man and his God*, or simply *Man and his God*.

Kramer's edition of *Man and his God* was based on five duplicates, and the text which he was able to reconstruct, was highly fragmentary. Due to seven additional duplicates, subsequently identified,[9] we are now able to establish the literary structure of the composition. Recently, a number of full and partial translations of our poem appeared, utilizing most of the new duplicates.[10] The latest translation, accompanied by a composite text, has been published in the *Electronic Text Corpus*

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[7] Nougayrol (1952). For subsequent studies of this text, see von Soden (1957: 315–19, 1965); Bottéro (1964/5), Lambert (1987), Römer and von Soden (1990: 135–40), and Foster (1993).

[8] Kramer (1955). For further observations on this composition, see Klein (1982). Jacobsen, in passing (1970:45–46. 1976:154–55), quotes a few lines from two other early penitential psalms, which share thematic and stylistic features with the above two compositions: the Old Akkadian personal lament fragment *TCL* 1 9 (edited in Ungnad 1914:80–81, no. 89; van Dijk 1953:121–22; von Soden, *SAHG* 269); and lines 75–85 of the Anūna hymn *PBS* 1/1, no. 2 (for a recent edition, see Lambert 1989).

[9] For the time being, see ETCSL 5.2.4, sub "Cuneiform Sources." My reconstruction of the poem will be presented in my forthcoming revised edition.

[10] See Kramer (1963:127–29), Kramer (1969:589–91); Römer and von Soden (1990:102–9); Klein (1997). For a transliteration and translation of ll. 28–32; 37–41; 100; 103–105; 113–115, see Jacobsen (1970:333 n. 28–33); see further Jacobsen (1976:152–53).

*of Sumerian Literature*.[11] My forthcoming revised edition benefited from all these studies.

There has been a wide disagreement as to the literary form of *Man and his God* and the date of its composition. van Dijk, who as early as 1953 translated two fragments belonging to our poem,[12] immediately recognized the close relationship between this text and the Akkadian compositions dealing with the problem of the righteous sufferer, such as *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the *Babylonian Theodicy*.[13] When Kramer published, in 1955, his *editio princeps* of our poem, he labeled it, in agreement with van Dijk, a "poetic essay," or an "instructive essay." According to Kramer, the author of this poem teaches a doctrine that man's misfortunes are the result of his sins, and in the case of seemingly unjustified suffering, he has to keep glorifying his god and lamenting before him, until his prayers are heeded. As to the date of this composition, Kramer considered it part of the Neo-Sumerian literary corpus, preserved in late copies from the Old Babylonian period.[14] Following Kramer's remarks, Kuschke expressed the hypothesis that the doctrine of the connection between "sin and suffering" may have been borrowed by the Sumerian theologians from Akkadian religion, during the Neo-Sumerian period.[15] Dalglish, in his study of Psalm Fifty One, labels *Man and his God* a "Sumerian Thanksgiving Psalm," composed around 2000 B.C.E.[16] Lambert, in the introductory essay to his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, expresses the opinion that "the problem of the righteous sufferer was certainly implicit from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur."[17] But he is not certain that our poem deals with this problem, because of the considerable difficulties in its translation.[18] However, in his recent study

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[11] See ETCSL 5.2.4.

[12] van Dijk (1953:122–27).

[13] For *Ludlul* (*The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer*) see Lambert (1960:32–63), Biggs (1969); Römer and von Soden (1990:110–135); Foster (1993:308–25). For the *Babylonian Theodicy* see Lambert (1960:63–91); Römer and von Soden (1990:143–57); Foster (1993:806–14). An annotated Hebrew translation of these two compositions is included in Shifra and Klein (1996:544–75).

[14] See Kramer (1955:170–72).

[15] Kuschke (1956:74–75).

[16] Dalglish (1962:253, 270).

[17] He refers to the Old Akkadian name *Mīna-Arnī*, "What-is-my-Guilt;" see Gelb (1957:65) sub ʾₓrn, which attests to the notion that "suffering necessarily implies guilt."

[18] Lambert (1960:10).

of the Babylonian *Man and his God*,[19] Lambert expresses the opinion
that both the latter and the former are thematically similar to "com-
plaint psalms," while in their form are didactic works of piety for
study an contemplation. von Soden, in an essay on the questioning
of the righteousness of the gods in the Ancient Near East, concedes
that *Man and his God* is a unique Sumerian lament of an afflicted
individual, with an appended report of his happy restoration. But,
in his opinion, neither this poem nor any Akkadian parallels from
the Old Babylonian period deal with the "Job" motif, for they do
not question at all the righteousness of the gods.[20] Jacobsen, as pointed
out before, counts our poem among the earliest examples of "pen-
itential psalms."[21] Hallo, on the other hand, in his above mentioned
study of "Individual Prayer in Sumerian,"[22] ignores our composition
altogether,[23] and consequently reaches the conclusion that the "Letter
Prayers" are the earliest and only literary prototypes of the post Old
Babylonian penitential psalms, such as e.g. the eršahuĝa prayers. In
a recent, general discussion of the lamentations and prayers in
Mesopotamian Literature, Hallo counts *Man and his God* among the
"Just Sufferer Compositions," adding the note that although one of
its exemplars carries the generic subscript ir$_2$ ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-
kam, "it may be questioned whether it is liturgical in character."[24]
Krecher, in a survey of Sumerian literature, counts our poem among
those late Sumerian works, which were composed in the Old
Babylonian period, and hence it is not representative of genuine
Sumerian literature.[25] In his *Reallexikon* entry on the "Klagelied," on
the other hand, he seems to count *Man and his God* among such nar-
rative compositions[26] as *Ludlul* and the *Babylonian Theodicy*, which con-
tain a personal lament as a major component.[27]

Edzard, in his *Reallexikon* survey of Sumerian literature, on the
other hand, classifies our poem as a genuine "Persönliche Klage,"
along with the later eršahuĝa prayers.[28] He reaches this conclusion

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[19] Lambert (1987:201).
[20] von Soden (1965:46).
[21] Jacobsen (1976:152–53).
[22] Hallo (1968); see note 5 above.
[23] Similarly Wilcke (1975:250–52, 261), in his discussion of "Gattung" in Sumerian
literature, ignores *Man and his God* together with its generic-cultic subscript.
[24] Hallo (1995:1878–79).
[25] Krecher (1978:319).
[26] In his words: "erzählenden Dichtungen."
[27] *RlA* 6 (1980–1983) 1 and 6. xxx.
[28] "Literatur," *RlA* 7 (1987–1990) 43 (sub #3.4.4). xxx.

on the basis of the generic-cultic subscript, which appears at the end of two of the duplicates of the poem: ĝiš-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$ ir$_2$-ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam, namely "the antiphon of the prayer of lament to a man's (personal) god."[29] Weinfeld, in an essay on the Biblical Job and its Mesopotamian parallels, expresses the opinion that *Man and his God* and *The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (i.e. *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*) constitute actually thanksgiving psalms, uttered by the sufferer in the first person, recounting the events about the troubles he underwent, and his happy deliverance. In this respect, according to Weinfeld, these compositions resemble the psalms of thanksgiving in the Bible, wherein also the man who proclaims his thanks to God, retrospectively recounts his troubles in the past, in order to magnify the act of salvation before his listeners.[30] M. Civil, like van Dijk and Kramer, probably considers Man and his God to be a didactic, wisdom poem, for he lists it in Section 5 of his catalogue of Sumerian Literature, which includes "Edubba and Didactic Texts," and places it among such compositions as *Instructions of Šuruppak, Counsels of Wisdom, Instructions to a Farmer* and other "Wisdom Paragraph and Prayers."[31] Finally, we should draw attention to the attitude of J. Black and his associates to the problem under discussion, in their Electronic Text Corpus: Instead of including *Man and his God* in one of the well defined literary categories, they include it in a group of atypical, *sui generis*, compositions, labeled as "Other Scribal Training Literature."[32]

Before commenting on the literary form of our poem and elaborating on its relationship to other ancient literary genres, known from subsequent periods, I will present an updated summary of its content and structure, as these emerge from my forthcoming revised edition. Our poem may be divided into six sections:[33]

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[29] It was apparently this cultic-generic subscript which prompted Jacobsen to label *Man and his God* as a "penitential psalm."

[30] See Weinfeld (1988). Weinfeld develops and substantiates the hypothesis of Dalglish, who was the first to label *Man and his God* as a "thanksgiving psalm" (see n. 16 above).

[31] As can be seen in his unpublished catalogue (made available to the editors of the *PSD*), sub 5.64.

[32] See ETCSL 5.2.4. Our poem is listed as the first item among the following atypical compositions: *The Poem of Early Rulers, Enlil and Namzitara, Nintinuga's Dog, The Dedication of an Axe to Nergal, The Home of the Fish*, and *The Heron and the Turtle*.

[33] Regarding the one-line antiphon (l. 143) as a separate section. The line count below follows that of the ETCSL edition. In my forthcoming reconstruction, the poem will contain a total of 152 lines, and the line count will considerably differ from the present one.

**I. *Prologue (1–9)*:** The poem begins with a brief, sapiential, introductory exhortation, that a man should faithfully praise and exalt his god, soothing his heart with lamentations (ll. 1–8), for "a man without a (personal) god will not *obtain* (his) food" (9).[34]

**II. *The Sufferer's Affliction with Sickness and his Reaction (10–27)*:** Here the poet introduces the righteous, unnamed, sufferer.[35] In a brief, four line long, passage he describes the various diseases that befell him, changing completely his features (igi-kur$_2$) (11–14). As a result, the afflicted man reverently pays homage (šu-kin si-sa$_2$) to his personal god, and utters a bitter lament to him (15–27).

**III. *The Sufferers Lament and Prayer (28–119)*:** Here follows the sufferers 82–line long lament and prayer, uttered by him in the first person. The lament constitutes close to two-third of our poem, and no doubt it forms its literary kernel. The lament begins with the description of the ill-treatment accorded the sufferer by his fellow men, friend and foe alike, presumably on account of his illness (ll. 28–63). Next he expresses the wish that all wise men, his family and the professional singer may ceaselessly lament on his behalf, before his god (ll. 64–68), and continues with a bitter complaint about his deteriorated physical and psychological conditions (ll. 69–80). The sufferer concludes his prayer with a heartrending plea for mercy, forgiveness and restoration (ll. 98–119). Most interestingly, his final plea, includes an impressive confession of sins (i.e. atonement), introduced by the following proverb:

> "They say—the wise men—a word true and *right*:
> 'Never has a sinless child been born to its mother,
> A *mortal* has never been perfect, a sinless man has never
>       existed from old!" (103–105).[36]

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[34] This clearly proverbial cliché is found in a more expounded form in an Old Babylonian school tablet from Ur (*UET* 6/2, 251 = 252) and in the *Hendursanga Hymn* (ll. 205'–213'). See Klein (1982:304–5 n. 34); Alster (1997:309, 467–68).

[35] The present interpretation of this line, introducing the sufferer by the term ĝuruš, is still tentative.

[36] This conservative theological truth recurs later in nearly all the literary compositions, dealing with the theme of the "righteous sufferer" and the problem of theodicy. See the final answer of the Friend in the *Babylonian Theodicy* 276–280 (Lambert 1960: 88–89):

The sins enumerated in the confession (ll. 106–115) are still partly incomprehensible, and it is not clear whether they are cultic or moral? Apparently, the sufferer expresses feelings of guiltiness, but he is ignorant of the nature of his sins, for among others he mentions "forgotten"[37] sins versus "revealed"[38] sins (106–107); and concludes his confession with the following pledge:

> "My god, . . . . after you will have let my eyes recognize my sins,
> I shall recount in the gate of the *assembly*, those of them that have been
>        forgotten, and those of them which are *visible*—
> I, the man, shall publicly declare my sins before you!" (113–115).[39]

The sufferer's concludes his lament with the following plea-for-mercy:

> "In the assembly, let tears fall like a heavy downpour (of rain)!
> In your 'house', let my praying mother continuously weep for me!
> I, the valiant—may your holy [*heart have*] pity and mercy on *me*!
> As for me, the man, may your heart, 'the terrifying (flood) wave',
>        be assuaged toward me!" (116–119).

**IV. *The Sufferer's Salvation (120–132)*:** As expected, the drama comes to a 'happy end': The poet informs us that the sufferer's prayer was heeded. His god accepted his entreaties, healed him by driving out the demons of sickness from his body, turned his suffering into joy and entrusted him to the benevolent guardian angles (120–132).[40]

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> "Narru (=Enlil), king of the gods, who created mankind,
> Majestic Zulummar (=Ea), who pinched off their clay,
> And the queen who fashioned them, mistress Mami,
> Gave twisted speech to the human race,
> They endowed them forever with lies and untruth."

In the Biblical Book of Job, this idea is repeated twice in the speeches of the eldest friend, Eliphaz (4:17–21; 15:14–16); see also Genesis 6:5–7; Psalms 51:7; 1 Kings 8:46; 2 Chronicles 6:36.

[37] I.e. hidden sins, Sum. ha-lam-ma.

[38] I.e. known sins, Sum. niĝ₂-bur₂-ra.

[39] Similarly, the sufferer in the Babylonian *Man and his God* opens his prayer with the complaint that "My lord, I have deliberated in my mind, (But) . . . . . . in the heart. I do not know what sin *I* committed" (12–13). Unfortunately, in this composition as well the passage in which he confesses his sins is damaged and it is not clear what were the nature of the sins which he mentions. In l. 14 he seems to mention cultic sins against the god (note the terms *anzillu* and *ikkibu*), and in l. 15— social-ethical sins (such as perhaps looking down upon a brother and calumniating his friend).

[40] The description of the sufferer's healing (ll. 126–129) is described as a reversing of his falling sick (ll. 71–80). For a similar, but more elaborate and poetic, description of the healing and reversing the fate of a righteous sufferer, see Si 55:4–33 (*Ludlul* III; Lambert 1960:52).

**V. *The Sufferer's Thanksgiving (133–142):*** The still highly frag-
mentary epilogue of our poem contains a thanksgiving praise, uttered
by the salvaged man to his personal god. The praise seems to be
introduced by two lines of narration (133–134), followed by the words
of the man (135–142).[41] In the first part of his concluding praise
(136–140), the man vows that he will constantly glorify his god; and
he seems to end his praise with another short plea-for-mercy and
reconciliation, echoing the concluding lines of his former lament:

> "May your *righteous* [*heart*] *be assuaged* toward me!
> May you forgive [my *sins*]! (ll. 141–142)[42]

**VI. *The Antiphon (143):*** The poem seems to end with a one-line
antiphon, in which the restored sufferer echoes his above final plea-
for-mercy, saying:

> May *your* [*heart*] be soothed toward me!" (143).[43]

We can now, on the basis of the above summary, discuss the problem
of the literary form of our composition and its relation to its later
parallels in Mesopotamia and the Bible.[44] The poem *Man and his
God*, viewed in its entirety, seems to be, as observed by Kramer, a
wisdom composition, teaching a conservative and pious doctrine: A
pious and god-revering sufferer should never lose faith in his per-
sonal god; he should rather continue to lament and pray to him,
until the god accepts his prayer and restores him to his former happy
conditions. This clearly follows from the prologue, which is marked
by eight precative verbal forms (ll. 1–8) and a one-line proverbial

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[41] According to ETCSL ll. 133–36 are said by the narrator, and the personal
address of the man begins only in l. 137.

[42] Compare these lines to ll. 118–19 quoted above.

[43] That this line constitutes the antiphon, may be concluded from the fact that
in text C it is preceded by a double dividing line. However, it should be pointed
out that in text J, the only other available duplicate, this line is not marked off
from what precedes it by such a double line. Ignoring text C, and basing oneself
purely on literary considerations, one would regard the last three lines (141–143)
as the antiphon; for these three lines constitute a coherent plea for mercy and for-
giveness, and begin with the concluding formula of the man's former lament (ša₃ . . . ki-
be₂ ha-ma-gi₄-gi₄).

[44] For former discussions of the relationship between the book of Job and its
Mesopotamian parallels, see Finkelstein (1972), Kaufmann (1955:617–19, in Hebrew);
Kuschke (1956:70–76), Gray (1979), Albertson (1983), Hoffman (1995:50–68, 81–5,
89–110). For further bibliography, see Clines (1989:cxiv).

statement (l. 9), and hence belongs to the genre of instructive wisdom literature. All the rest of the poem is nothing but a (fictitious) illustration of this truth, stated in the prologue.[45] It is true that the afflicted man himself utters here a lament, in which he complains about his suffering, and after his delivery he sings a thanksgiving hymn to his god, all in the first person—similarly to the protagonist in *The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (*Ludlul*), and the psalmists of the thanksgiving psalms.[46] However, the composition as a whole, is cast into the form of a didactic narrative and, therefore, I would not put 'Man and his God' in the same generic category as the Biblical individual thanksgiving psalms. I would rather retain van Dijk's and Kramer's general observation, that this composition is to be counted among the Ancient Near Eastern wisdom compositions, dealing with the problem of the innocent or righteous sufferer, including the Biblical Job. From the point of view of the history of religion, however, our poem represents a rather early stage of development: As far as it can be determined from the reconstructed text, the integrity and righteousness of the deity are never questioned, and suffering is explained as a consequence of guilt. In this respect, the author of *Man and his God* shares the attitude of the contemporary Akkadian dialogue between a *Man and his God*,[47] the attitude of Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan in *Ludlul*, the conservative doctrine of the sufferer's friend in the *Babylonian Theodicy*, and the dogmatic beliefs of Job's friends in the Bible. Moreover, the way the afflicted man, in our poem, reacts to his sufferings, recalls the exemplary behavior of Job in the narrative portion of this book, who retains his integrity through all the misery that befell him: He refuses to make any accusations of injustice against God, but rather continues to bless him, who is the cause of his sufferings.[48] Our poem also shares with the other wisdom compositions the optimistic belief that the suffering of the righteous, no matter how prolonged and severe, is only temporary, and eventually he is bound to be healed and rehabilitated by his god.[49] Beyond

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[45] The didactic nature of our composition is also brought to the fore by other proverbial elements, inserted in the sufferer's lament, prior to his confession (see ll. 103–105; cf. note 36 above).

[46] For typical individual thanksgiving psalms, see Psalms 30; 41; 92; 116. For this psalmic genre, see Gunkel and Begrich (1933: 265–92), and Westermann (1981).

[47] See n. 7 above; and discussion below.

[48] See Job 1:20–22; 2:8–10. For these verses, see recently Clines (1989:3, 49–55).

[49] This is implied by the Akkadian *Dialogue between a Man and his God*, and the *Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (see ns. 7 and 13 above), where the sufferer is restored

this simplistic theological approach, our poem dares not to go. Thus, in spite of the fact that the sufferer is not aware of the nature of his sins, and hence he must be considerably puzzled by his bitter fate, we do not find here any reflections on the incomprehensibility of the divine will, or the discrepancy between human and divine standard of values, the kind of reflections we encounter in the Babylonian *Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* (*Ludlul*).[50]

As I have observed, the exhortative prologue imparts to our poem characteristics of wisdom literature. However, the greater part of the composition consists of elements taken from other, well-known, genres of ancient literature. Thus, the description of the individual's suffering and restoration, narrated by the poet in the third person, is very succinct and factual. It describes in a few sentences how the man fell ill and lamented to his god;[51] and at the end, how his god accepted his prayer and healed him.[52] These sections were obviously borrowed from the genre of incantation literature, where the sickness of the individual is normally attributed to the action of evil demons, attacking his body, and where his healing is explained as the expulsion of these demons from his body.[53] The epilogue of our poem, containing a thanksgiving psalm, seems to be taken from hymnic literature, but it is still too fragmentary for further analysis (see table in the Appendix).

However, as has been generally acknowledged, the main part of our composition, namely the sufferer's prayer (ll. 28–119), is nothing but a lengthy and highly poetic individual lament or "penitential psalm," with some proverbial elements incorporated in it. It is not surprising, therefore, that at least in two duplicates of *Man and his God* we find a subscript, designating it by the generic term:

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to his former health and happiness toward the end of the poem. Apparently, this theological principal underlies the prologue to the latter composition (ll. 1–40), which elaborates on the contrasts of Marduk's nature, who at one moment afflicts the person, at the next he restores him to health. This is also the advice of the Friend in the *Babylonian Theodicy* (ll. 38–44; 239–42). The same theology emerges from the general plot of the book of Job, as well as from numerous statements of Job's friends (cf. 4:6; 5:9–17; 8:6–7, 20–22; 11:13–20 et passim).

[50] See *Ludlul*, Tablet II 1–48.

[51] Lines 12–16 (see also 17–27).

[52] Lines 120–32.

[53] See e.g. Falkenstein (1931:83–100) and Cavigneaux (1995:19–46). Compare the elaborate description of the diseases, which befell the sufferer in *Ludlul* (I 49–107), and the corresponding description of his healing (Si 55, reverse), likewise borrowed from incantation literature (as observed by Lambert (1960:22–24).

ir$_2$-ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam "a prayer of lament to a man's (per-sonal) god." Moreover, these two duplicates consider the last portion of the poem to be its antiphon (Sum. ĝiš-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$)."[54] These subscripts may indicate that the poem was intended for cultic use. Note, however, that not all duplicates of our poem contained these cultic-generic subscripts. Text G (Ni 4587 + CBS 15205), which presumably contained the entire composition, ends with line 142, omitting both the antiphon (143) and its subscript (144–145). This may indicate that in the tradition of this duplicate, our composition was not considered as a text used in the cult.

I have pointed out above, that according to Jacobsen, *Man and his God* and the Old Babylonian sufferer's dialogue with his personal god belong to the same cultic genre, namely that of the "Penitential Psalm."[55] Indeed, a thematic and structural comparison between the two compositions indicates a great similarity between them.[56] Briefly, the ca. 70-line long Old Babylonian dialogue may be summarized as follows:[57]

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[54] The colophon of text J (UM 29–16–726), a one-column tablet inscribed on both sides, which may have contained approximately the second half of the composition, reads: [ĝi]š-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$ ir$_2$ ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$/ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam. If we assume that the expected double genitive was ignored by the scribe, this colophon may be translated: "It is the antiphon of the prayer (of) lament to a man's (personal) god." It is not clear, to what portion from the end of the poem this colophon refers. Traces of a variant form of the same colophon are still visible in the end of text C (UM 29–13–376), part of a two-column tablet, inscribed on both sides, which originally contained the entire composition. The colophon in this text may be reconstructed as follows: [ĝiš-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$-bi]-im/ [ir$_2$ ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$/ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-k]am "It is [its antiphon]./ It is [a prayer (of) lament to a man's (personal) god]." However, contrary to the scribe of text J, the scribe of text C drew a double dividing line after l. 142, indicating that in his tradition, the rubric [ĝiš-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$-bi]-im relates only to the last line of the poem (l. 143), which reads: [ša$_3$-z]u$^{\jmath}$ ha-ma-huĝ$^{\jmath}$-e "May *your* [*heart*] be soothed toward me!"

[55] See notes 4 and 8 above.

[56] The Babylonian *Man and his God* is preserved only in one fragmentary copy, the text of which was divided by the scribe into 9 strophes of 5 double lines each, and a tenth, concluding strophe of one single double line (l. 67). However, this division is somewhat artificial, interfering with the thematic and formal structure of the composition. Therefore, it is ignored in the following summary of content and structure.

[57] The first editor, Nougayrol (1952), assumed that this text is a dialogue between a 'man' (*eṭlu*), who intercedes for his afflicted friend (*rū'iššu*) to his (=the sufferer's) god; and the god who responds with comforting address to the sufferer, his pro-tégé. This dialogue, which constitutes the greater part of the text, is embedded in a narrative framework. Nougayrol further assumed that the present text does not constitute the entire composition. He surmised that the beginning of the story (the description of the righteous man's former blissful condition and the turn in his fate for bad) as well as the end of the story (the restoration of the sufferer to his for-mer condition) were lost.

**A. *Prologue: Description of the Suffering of the Man (1–11).***
This is an introductory passage, in which the poet introduces a
suffering and utterly depressed man (3–5) "who weeps to his god *like
a friend,*"[58] lamenting and praying to him vehemently (1–2; 6–9),
recounting him his sufferings (10–11).

**B. *The Sufferers Lament and Prayer (12–36?):***[59] Here follows a
long monologue of the sufferer, in which he addresses a heart-rending
lament to his god. The passage is very fragmentary. In the first part
of his monologue, which is only partly legible (12–16), the man claims
that he does not know the sin he has committed (12–13) and then
he seems to specify a number of cultic and moral sins, which he
may have committed unwittingly (14–15).[60] The second part of his

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von Soden, who treated this dialogue in three different publications (1957, 1965,
1990), agrees in principle with Nougayrol that there are three distinct persons
involved in this dialogue: The innocent sufferer, his friend who intercedes and prays
for him, and the personal god of the sufferer, who is entreated and who accepts
the prayer and responds with a soothing message. This interpretation of the poem
depends mainly on his translation of two ambiguous lines: Line 1, which he trans-
lates: "Ein Mann weint für den Freund (=*rū'iš*) zu seinem Gott;" and l. 13, where
he deems to find a verb in the first person sing. alongside a verb in the third per-
son sing.: "den Frevel, der er beging, kenne ich nicht" (=*šēṭ īpušu lā īd[i]*), namely:
"the sin that he (=the sufferer) committed I (=the intercessor) do not know." Although
this hypothesis solves some of the exegetical problems in our poem, it creates other
problems. Thus even von Soden admits, that strophes IV–VI (ll. 22–38) are spo-
ken by the sufferer himself. As a matter of fact, already strophe III (ll. 17–21) seem
to constitute the words of the sufferer (cf. l. 17b: "There is present for **me** the lord
of justice who *decrees* [*the fates*];" and l. 21b: "[he]al **me** . . .!"); although, von Soden
can derive support for his hypothesis from l. 18b of the same strophe, which reads:
"May **his** choice heart . . .!"

For the time being, I adopt Lambert's hypothesis (followed by Foster 1993), who
in his excellent revised edition of this poem (1987), assumes that there are only two
persons involved in this dialogue: The sufferer and his personal god. He bases this
hypothesis mainly on his translation of the first line as follows: "A man weeps to
his god *like a* friend" (=*rū'iš*). Accordingly, Lambert translates l. 13: "I do not know
what sin *I have* committed." Although this hypothesis does not solve all the prob-
lems in the poem, it is adopted here, for being a minimal approach.

[58] For the different translations of this line and their implication, see the pre-
ceding note.

[59] According to von Soden (1990:136) and Lambert (1985:189), the sufferer's
lament ends somewhere in the middle of the VIIth strophe, i.e. between ll. 39–41.
However, the last explicit first person sing. possessive pronominal suffix, indicating
the monologue of the sufferer, appears in l. 36b (*muti kimtīja*); and l. 37 ends with
*ardišu*. This suggests that the narrative resumes in this very line, which should be
tentatively restored as follows: [*išmēma ilum te-es-li-i*]*t ardīšu* "[*The god accepted the prayer
of*] his servant." Note also –*šu* at the end of l. 38, and again *ardiš* at the end of l. 40.

[60] In l. 14 the words *anzillaka* and *ikkibam lemnamma* appear in an obscure con-
text. In l. 15 he refers to the sins of scorning a brother and calumniating a friend.

monologue (17–21) is incomprehensible. In the third and fourth parts of his monologue (22–26, 27–31) he seems to describe the punishment that his god meted on him for his hypothetical sins. The last part of his monologue (32–36) is again too fragmentary to make sense of it.

**C. *The Sufferer's Salvation (37?–47)*:** We are told here by the narrator that as expected, the god accepted the prayer of his devotee,[61] probably restored him to his former health (cf. ll. 43–44),[62] anointed him with an aromatic oil,[63] fed and clothed him and spoke to him words of consolation and hope (46–47).

**D. *Epilogue: The God's Message of Consolation to the Sufferer (48–67).*** The god tells the restored sufferer that his suffering ended and he regained favor in his eyes (48–55); he assures him that his guardian angels are watching over him (59), and promises him a safe dwelling and a long life (60–61). He instructs him to take care of the needy, but reject his ill-wishers (62–65).[64] The god ends his address with the solemn blessing (66–67):

> "For you the gate of prosperity and life is open,
> *Ever*[65] go in and out of it and prosper."

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Lambert and Foster interpret this as a complaint of the man to his god of having treated him inimically as a stranger (i.e. un-brotherly and unfriendly). Although this interpretation is based on the translation of line 1 ("A man was weeping to his god *like* a friend"), it seems far fetched.

[61] Possibly referred to as *ardīšu* "his slave" (ll. 37 and 40) in a broken context (for a hypothetical restoration of l. 37, so as to render it suitable for the resumption of the narrative, see n. 59 above); cf. the concluding prayer for him (l. 68): *unnēn ardika līrid ana libbik[a]*.

[62] Lines 37–43a are illegible. Line 43b: *ušēlijaššu qaqqaršu* "he raised him to the ground." For the morpheme *-šu* (=*iš*) in this word, von Soden refers to *GAG* 67g and *daddaršu* in l. 29b above. For further references to this somewhat obscure expression, see *CAD* Q 116 sub *qaqqaru* A, 1c (idiomatic use); 117 3d (in transferred meaning): *ina qaqqar šulmi, ina qaqqar balāṭi*; 124, sub 9: *rīdāni qaqqaršun* "go down to the netherworld."

[63] See l. 44 *iltapa[ssu] šaman asîm*; see *CAD* A/2 343, sub *asu* A c: *šaman asi* "myrtle oil;" Lambert translates: "he anointed him with a physician's oil."

[64] So according to Foster, who reads in lines 64–65 partly following von Soden, partly following Lambert as follows: *u ša ušbuma ištabbubā īn[āšu]?/liṭṭul akliška lizūb lihūr lih[harmiṭ]* "But he who sits there with [*his*] *eyes* continuously burning, let him look upon your food, melt, *flow down* and *dis[solve]*!" Lambert reads *u ša ušpuma* and assumes that the reference is to evil sorcerers. von Soden, on the other hand, interprets these lines as instructing the rehabilitated man to be generous to beggars.

[65] Tentatively taking the obscure *mumma* to be a variant of *mimma* (see *CAD* M/2 197a sub *mummu*).

**D.** *Appendix: Petition for the Sufferer (68).* The text ends with the following one double line petition for the sufferer, addressed to his god by an unknown third person:

> Make straight his way, open his path!
> May the prayer of your servant[66] penetrate your heart!

Nougayrol, who assumes that in Strophes I and II it is the sufferer's friend who intercedes and laments for him, sees in this double-line a concluding prayer of the friend for the sufferer, in which he requests the god to fulfill his promise to his protégé (Strophes VIII–IX) and restore him to his bliss. Nougayrol sees in this appeal a catch-line, signaling the denouement of the story in another, successive tablet, which presumably told about the complete restoration of the sufferer.[67] von Soden labels this petition a "Refrain-Doppelvers," without commenting as to its function.[68] Lambert correctly points out that with the god's message of consolation, the rehabilitation of the sufferer is assured and the story ends. He posits two possible explanations to this double-line appeal: Either we have a catch-line signaling another, independent composition; or else, the extra couplet could be a liturgical formula tagged on, containing a blessing for the man who may have used this poem in the cult.[69] However, by his last, alternative suggestion, Lambert contradicts himself, for in his discussion of the genre of this poem he asserts that judging from its complex literary form, "it can hardly served in a cult, but presumably it was meant as a didactic work of piety for study and contemplation."[70] Furthermore, the categorical statement that in our poem "only the sufferer and his god appear"[71] is mitigated somewhat, for we have here a sudden appearance of a third person, who intercedes for the sufferer. In my opinion, this double-line petition in the Babylonian *Man and*

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[66] See notes 59 and 61 above.

[67] Nougayrol (1952:240).

[68] von Soden (1957:319; 1990:136); in a former discussion of this poem, he introduces the translation of these two lines with the succinct remark: "Nach dieser Zusage des Gottes schliesst **der Dichter** mit dem Schlussgebet." He, perhaps, refers with the term "der Dichter" to the narrator. But this is a clear liturgical formula, and it could not be uttered by the narrator.

[69] Lambert (1987:188–89). In his preliminary notes to our poem, he simply notes that "the last two lines read more like a liturgical formula than a catch-line" (see Lambert 1960:11 n. 3).

[70] Lambert (1987:201).

[71] Lambert (1987:189).

*his God* corresponds to the one-line antiphon in the Sumerian *Man and his God* (l. 144), which is likewise a concluding petition, recapitulating the former prayer formulas in the man's penitential prayer and subsequent hymn of praise.[72] The only difference between the two cases is that whereas in the Babylonian poem there is no formal indication that we deal with a cultic antiphon, in the Sumerian poem at least two scribes explicitly indicated the purpose and nature of the concluding petition, labeling it an "antiphon;" and added the cultic-generic subscript: $ir_2$ ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam. Hence, in the latter case, there can be no doubt that the poem was sometime in some circumstances used in the private cult.[73]

Opinions as to the generic definition of the Babylonian *Man and his God* are also divided, although this fragmentary composition draw somewhat less attention than the Sumerian *Man and his God.* Nougayrol assigned this poem to the 'Wisdom' genre, seeing in it a didactic narrative, which presumably deals with the problem of the "righteous sufferer," and formally comparable to the Sumerian *Man and his God* and the Biblical Job. In his opinion, a man intercedes and prays for his sick friend to his personal god, whereupon the god heals the sufferer and addresses him with words of comfort and blessing.[74] von Soden agrees basically with Nougayrol, pointing out, however, that neither in the Sumerian poem nor in the its Babylonian parallel do we find a questioning of the justice of the god; for the sufferer in both compositions admits that he committed some sort of sin or sins, wittingly or unwittingly, but he does not know what actually were his sins.[75] Therefore, although these poems deal with the problem of suffering, they do not treat the theme of the "righteous sufferer."[76] Lambert, who was the first one to point out that the sufferer in the Babylonian *Man and his God* cannot be called a "righteous sufferer," because he acknowledges his guilt and confesses his sins, assumes

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[72] See above, discussion of this antiphon with notes 24, 33 and 54.

[73] It should be pointed out that the cultic-generic subscript $ir_2$-ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam is unique in its clearness of meaning. Most other known subscripts either indicate the musical instrument which usually accompanied a particular type of songs (e.g. a-da-ab, tigi, balaĝ, er$_2$-šem$_3$-ma) or referred to the nature of the song in very general and vague terms (e.g. šir$_3$-kal-kal, šir$_3$-nam-gala, šir$_3$-gid$_2$-da); see the subscripts listed in Wilcke (1955:261), and the remarks in Vanstihpout (1986:3–4).

[74] Nougayrol (1952:240–41).

[75] See Sum. MG 103–116; Bab. MG 13–15.

[76] von Soden 1965:46; 1990:136.

that the dialogue in our poem takes place directly between the sufferer and his god, without a human intermediary. As to the generic definition of the Babylonian poem, Lambert points out that in content it is similar to individual laments and penitential psalms. However, in form it differs from these cultic laments, inasmuch as it has a narrative setting, and ends with the god's reply. Therefore, it could hardly be used in the cult, having meant to be a "didactic work of piety for study and contemplation," just like the Sumerian *Man and his God*. The difference between the two compositions is that whereas in the Sumerian poem the sufferer is rehabilitated without getting a verbal message from his god, in the Babylonian poem the sufferer receives a message of comfort from the god who restored his health, similarly to the Biblical Job. Otherwise, the Sumerian and the Akkadian poems share numerous terms and expressions typical to this didactic literature.[77]

Thus, although Lambert contributes very important insights to the nature and meaning of the two dialogues, he maintains the consensus that basically they belong to the genre of "wisdom literature." This consensus is apparently based on the assumption that the author of a composition like the Sumerian *Man and his God* borrowed elements from various cultic genres, such as incantation literature, individual laments, hymns of praise etc., and fused them into a complex didactic poem, by inserting them in a narrative framework and a sapiential prologue. A similar process of composition is probably assumed as to the Babylonian *Man and his God*.

We have seen, however, that both compositions end with a typical cultic petition formula, an antiphon, and one of them was explicitly labeled as a "prayer (of) lament to a man's (personal) god." This seems to indicate that in native eyes they were considered as cultic compositions. The question arises: How can we reconcile the didactic narrative nature of these poems with their liturgical elements and rubrics? Should we perhaps assume that literary compositions such as the Sumerian and Babylonian *Man and his God* were originally composed for cultic purposes, notwithstanding their relatively complex nature, including their narrative framework? If that be the case, then these compositions must have lost their cultic nature, only with time, when they became part of the scribal curriculum, and gradually

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[77] Lambert (1960:10–11; 1987:201–2).

became purely literary, didactic, poems. This gradual metamorphosis may be reflected in the fact that the antiphon with its liturgical rubric ĝiš-gi$_4$-ĝal$_2$, and cultic-generic subscript ir$_2$-ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam, is found only in two duplicates of the *Sumerian Man and his God*, omitted by a third duplicate; and that no comparable rubric or subscript is found in the single copy of the Babylonian *Man and his God*.

Perhaps we shall never be able to determine the original function of the Sumerian *Man and his God*, but even if the composition as a whole was not used in the cult, the long penitential psalm, which constitutes the kernel of our poem, is certainly borrowed from earlier cultic literature. The absence of individual laments from earlier periods does not mean that this genre did not exist before the second millennium. As I pointed out in a former study of individual prayer in Sumerian religion,[78] the term diĝir ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$, which corresponds to the generic subscript of our poem ir$_2$-ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$ diĝir lu$_2$-ulu$_3$-kam, is attested already in the Gudea cylinders[79] and the Šulgi hymns;[80] and the cultic prayer-formula ša$_3$ . . .—zu ki-be$_2$ ha-ma-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ "may your . . . heart be assuaged toward me," which concludes our sufferer's penitential psalm, is attested already in an Enheduanna hymn, presumably composed in the Old Akkadian period.[81] In fact, as I noted above, we even have personal lament fragment from the an Old Akkadian period.[82] Accordingly, even if *Man and his God* as a whole was composed not earlier than the OB period, the various literary generic elements incorporated in it, and especially the long penitential psalm, which forms its kernel and most important part, is certainly borrowed form an old cultic genre, which goes back at least as far as the Old Akkadian period.

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[78] Klein (1982).
[79] *Gudea CylB* i 18.
[80] *Šulgi E* 18 (diĝir ša$_3$-ne-ša$_4$-a inim ma-ab-ĝar-ra).
[81] *Ninmešara* 109–110; 143–145 (see Zgoll 1997:12; 16; 87–88; 115–17).
[82] See n. 8 above.

APPENDIX

## LITERARY STRUCTURE AND TEXTURE OF 'MAN AND HIS GOD'

|      | Lines   | Theme                              | Content                                                                                                                                                | Literary Form                                     | Genre                               |
|------|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| I    | 1–9     | Prologue: Sapiential Exhortation   | Man should always praise his god and sooth his heart with lamentation                                                                                    | Instruction (poet)                                | Wisdom literature                   |
| II   | 10–27   | The Man's Affliction               | The man becomes gravely sick by demons entering his body; he reacts with worship and lamentation                                                         | Narration (poet)                                  | Incantation literature              |
| III  | 28–119  | The Man's Lament and Prayer        | The man complains to his god of his suffering and social ostracism; he confesses of unknown sins; pleads for mercy and forgiveness and grace             | Penitential psalm (sufferer's monologue)          | Individual laments and prayers      |
| IV   | 120–132 | The Man's Salvation                | The man is healed by driving out the sickness demons from his body                                                                                       | Narration (poet)                                  | Incantation literature              |
| V    | 133–142 | The Man's Thanks-giving            | The man praises his god for his salvation; reiterates his petition for grace                                                                              | Sufferer's monologue                              | Hymnic literature                   |
| VI   | 143     | Antiphon                           | "May *your* [*heart*] be soothed for me!"                                                                                                                | Sufferer's monologue                              | Individual laments and payers       |

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# THE STRANGE HISTORY OF TUMAL

## Piotr Michalowski

Ancient texts have uncertain lives in the modern world. Some are constantly debated, revised, reinterpreted, and edited anew, while others remain as originally interpreted, maintaining venerable historical or cultural analyses[1] Occasionally something prompts us to renounce a comfortable, unquestioning relationship with a text with unpredictable consequences. We then find that E. D. Hirsch's (1967:98) often quoted statement that "every disagreement about interpretation is usually a disagreement about genre," while perhaps overstated, retains its force, and is particularly pertinent in Assyriology today. For a hundred years or so, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, as Babylonian and Sumerian literary compositions were recovered, reconstructed, and translated into modern languages, they were provided with titles for identification purposes but also for popular appeal. These titles often included generic names that were applied almost randomly: thus we encounter various "epics," "hymns," "myths," "chronicles," to name the obvious categories. While many acknowledge the arbitrary nature of these titles, such labels ultimately strongly influence the manner in which texts are understood and interpreted, whereas there have been some important essays on the problems that generic labels pose for Assyriology, these have more often been referenced than heeded. The one person who, more than any other, has made Assyriologists aware of generic problems is my old friend Herman Vanstiphout (1986, 1999a, 1999b), and it is a pleasure to offer him this small contribution for his consideration.

The Sumerian text known as the "History of the Tummal of Ninlil at Nippur," the "Tummal Chronicle" or the "Tummal Inscription," has long been a victim of generic muddle. Although A. Poebel (1914: 143–7) had brought attention to its content early in the last century, scholars began to cite it more often once S. N. Kramer (1960;

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1964:46–9) brought it into the orbit of historical debate, concentrating on the fact that it mentions the grand hero Gilgamesh. Kramer translated the text into English and supervised a dissertation by F. Ali (1964) that included the first full edition of the composition. The text has been edited twice by others (Sollberger 1962; Oelsner 2003), and has been translated in various contexts, either because of the Gilgamesh connection (George 2003), or because of its status as a "historiographic text," more specifically as a "chronicle." (Glassner 1993:2004).[2] Kramer accepted the text as a historical source and even attempted to use it to discuss the chronology of early Sumer. His faith in its veracity has been echoed by others, even though Civil (1980:230) had strongly rejected such use of the Tumal text.

For reasons that will become obvious, I propose to offer still another discussion of this short composition, although one might think that this thirty-two-line text has received more than its share of attention. First, I cite the most recent translation, done by Andrew George (2003:105), which represents well the current state of understanding of the composition:

> King Enmebaraggesi built the uru.na.nam, 'The Very City', the house of Enlil; Akka, son of Enmebaraggesi, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the first time.
> King Mesannepada built the bur.šú.šú.a$^{ki}$, 'Covered Jars', the house of Enlil; Meskiagnunna, son of Mesannepada, made Tummal resplendent; he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the second time.
> Bilgames built du$_6$-$^{(ú)}$númun.bur.ra, 'Mound of Rushes', the throne-dais of Enlil; Ur-lugal, son of Bilgames, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the third time.
> Nanne built the $^{giš}$kiri$_6$.mah.(a), 'Sublime Garden', the house of Enlil; Meskiag-Nanna, son of Nanne, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the fourth time.
> Ur-Nammu built the é.kur, 'House, Mountain'; Šulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, made Tummal resplendent, he brought Ninlil to Tummal. Tummal was abandoned for the fifth time.
> From the year King Amar-Suen (became) king (AS yr 1) until (the year) The Year King Ibbi-Sîn chose by divination Enamgalanna as en-priest of Inanna of Uruk (IS yr 2) Ninlil went repeatedly to Tummal.
> Written down at the dictation of Lu-Inanna, chief tanner of Enlil.
> Išbi-Erra built é.kur.igi.gál, 'House, Mountain Endowed with Sight', the storehouse of Enlil.

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[2] For earlier literature on the text see Oelsner (2003).

## *A Little Philology*

Before proceeding, I would like to dispense with a small set of philological matters, specifically concerning lines 27–30. Here is a matrix of these lines; the sigla are explained in the list of sources offered below.[3]

```
27.    šu     ᵈamar-ᵈen.zu-ka-ta
N1     .    −.        ..   .   ..  .
N3     o    oo        oo   .   +   +
N4     +    ++        ++   +   .   .
N5     o    o+        .    .   .   .   .
N6     o    oo        oo   o   .   +
N9     mu   −+        ++   +   +   o
Ur1    omits
Ur2    ᵈšu-ᵈen.zu-ta  [ ]
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```
28.    en-na          ᵈi-bi₂-ᵈen.zu lugal-e
N1     omits
N3     o  o           o.   .    ++  +   +  +
N4     .  +           +.   .    .+  +   .  o
N5     o  o           ++   .    o.  .   o  +
N6     o  o           oo   o    oo  o   .  +
N9     +  +           −+   +    ++  +   +  .
Ur1    +  +  mu       ++   +    ++  +   +  +
Ur2    +  +  šu       ++   .    oo  o   o  o
```

```
29.    en-am-gal-an-na en ᵈinin unugᵏⁱ-ga maš₂-e in-pad₃-de₃
N1     .   .    .    .   .    +  ++   +  +  +  +   .   .   +  +
N3     o  o     .    +  +     +  +.   o  +  +  +   +  +  +  +
N4     .   +    .    o   .    .  ..   +  .   .  /.  +  +  +  da
N5     o  o    o  o  o   o    o  oo   .   +  +  /o  o  o  o   .
N6     o  o    o  o  o   o    o.  +   .+  o   o  o  .   +
N9     .   +   +  +  +   +   ..  /.   ++  +   +  +  +  .   o
Ur1    +  me   +  +  +   +  ++    +   ++  +   +  +  +   +
Ur2    .   +   +  +  .   o  oo    o   o  o   o  o.  .   o
```

30.  $^{d}$nin-lil$_2$ tum-ma-al$^{ki}$-še$_3$ i$_3$-de$_6$-de$_6$ -en

```
N1   o.   .    o   + + +   o o o   o
N3   oo   .    +   + + +   + o +   de₃   +
N4   ++   +    +   + + +   + + +   −
N5   oo   .    .   . o o   o o o   d]e₃   +
N6   oo   o    o   o o o   + + +   +     +
N9   o.   +    +   + + +   + . o   o     o
Ur1  ++   +    +   + + +   + + +   −     .
```

**Line 27**. The first sign has been variously read as mu or šu. Only N9 has mu. The passage of time marked by the prepositions šu and en(n)a is also found in a school copy of an inscription of the Isin king Enlil-bani, lines 6–9 (E4.1.10.11: Loding 1973 and now Frayne 1990:86):

> šu  $^{d}$*i-din-*$^{d}$*da-gan*-ta
> en-na  $^{d}$*en-lil$_2$-ba-ni*  lugal-e
> mu  117-kam
> ša$_3$  i$_3$-si-in-na-ka  i$_3$-su$_8$-ge-eš-am$_3$
>
>> They stood inside the city of Isin for one hundred and seventeen years, from the beginning of Iddin-Dagan's reign until (the year named) "Enlil-bani became king."

The only way to accommodate the year count is to assume that this includes the whole reign of Iddin-Dagan. Therefore, it must mean "from the beginning of the reign . . . to the year . . ." The Ur scribes seem to have had some trouble with this: the pupil responsible for Ur2 resolved his doubts by emending the name of the king to that of Šu-Sin, while the writer of Ur1 omitted the line altogether.

**Lines 28–29**. Sollberger (1962:47), George (2003:105), and Glassner (2004:159 n. 4) identify this as IS year 2. That year was indeed named after the installation of a high priest (en) of Inana, but it was the fourth year-formula that is included here, named after the elevation of a prince who was renamed as Enamgalana (Frayne 1997:363).

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Note that the Ur texts differ from the Nippur manuscripts at this point, continuing the confusion found in l. 27. The scribe of Ur1 made a small lapsus, writing en-me-gal-an-na, that is the name of an en priestess of Nanna of Ur!

**Line 30**. Every available translation is based on the interpretation of the verb as third person singular and takes the subject to be Ninlil, but a reinvestigation of the witnesses reveals that only N4 omits the first person agent agreement marker -en. The verb must therefore be interpreted in the *first person*, and the speaker is actually Lu-Inana in the next sentence. This simple fact completely alters our understanding of the text: Lu-Inana, the chief leatherworker of Enlil, perhaps of the Ekur complex, relates how famous kings of the past built various cult places for his divine master in Nippur, and how their sons brought Ninlil to Tumal. He associates himself with these literary-historical figures, drawing on SKL, since he notes that for thirteen years he regularly brought Ninlil to Tumal for religious festivals. The first thirty lines are his story, as he related it to a scribe, who purportedly wrote it down, and then added a postscript anchoring the text in the time of Išbi-Erra of Isin.

The verbal form in this line requires some comment. Throughout the text the only verbal form used is in-tum$_3$, which has to mean "led/brought;" the root is non-perfect ("*marû*"), but the concord is that of the perfect, with /n/ cross-referencing the ergative agent. This does not conform well to the analysis of this verb provided recently by Sallaberger (2005), and must reflect problems that Old Babylonian teachers and students had with such irregular verbs. According to Sallaberger, tum$_3$ can only be non-perfect, singular and plural when signifying "to bring/deliver," and singular with meaning "to bring/lead." The form in line 30 is likewise perplexing. The forms in N3 and N5 suggest that the root is to be interpreted as de$_6$; this should be singular perfect, but the concord is that of the non-perfect, with the suffix marking the nominative subject. It appears that the separate perfect and non-perfect roots have been interchanged.

Taking into account these notes, as well as some other minor corrections, one can propose the following translation of the composition, which might be renamed as *The Boasts of Lu-Inana*, although in what follows I will simply refer to it as the *Tumal Text* (TT):

King En-išib-barage-si (of Kish) built the Iri-nanam ("The Very City"), Enlil's abode. Aka, son of En-ishib-baragesi, made Tumal flourish and brought Ninlil into Tumal. For the first time the Tumal was abandoned.

Mes-ane-pada (of Ur) built the Bur-šušua ("Covered Vessels"), Enlil's abode. Mes-ki'ag-nuna, son of Mes-ane-pada, made Tumal flourish, and brought Ninlil into Tumal. For the second time Tumal was abandoned.

Gilgameš (of Uruk) constructed Du-numun-bura ("Mound of Rushes"), Enlil's dais. Ur-lugal, son of Gilgameš, made Tumal flourish, and brought Ninlil into Tumal. For the third time Tumal was abandoned.

Nane (of Ur) built the Kiri-mah ("Sublime Orchard"), Enlil's abode. Mes-ki'ag-Nanna, son of Nane, made Tumal flourish, and brought Ninlil into Tumal. For the fourth time Tumal fell was abandoned.

Ur-Namma (of Ur), built the (temple tower) Ekur ("House, Mountain"). Šulgi, son of Ur-Namma, made the Tumal flourish, and brought Ninlil into Tumal. For the fifth time Tumal was abandoned.

From the beginning of (the reign of) King Amar-Su'en until (the year named) "The Year King Ibbi-Sin chose (prince) En-amgal-ana to be the high priest of (the goddess) Inana of Uruk by means of extispicy" (=Ibbi-Sin year 4, 13 years later), I regularly brought Ninlil to Tumal.

Written according to the words of Lu-Inana, the chief leatherworker of Enlil.

Išbi-Erra (of Isin) built Ekur-igigal, Enlil's storehouse.

*Sources*

Sixteen sources are currently known, of which twelve were found at Nippur, three at Ur, and the origin of one is unknown. In addition, the incipit is cited in a catalog of literary letters and other short texts from Uruk (see below). There has been some confusion as to the number of Nippur sources of the Tumal composition. The ETCSL listing includes the following:

CBS  6050 (*PBS* 5  7)
CBS  10471
N w/n (PBS  5  7)

This is really one source, CBS 10471, published in hand copy and photograph as *PBS* 5 7. Thus the sources, as currently known, can be listed as follows:

N1     = 3N-T 109 (A 30146)
N2     = 3N-T 901,37 (*SLTF* 9)
N3     = CBS 7849 (*PBS* 13 48) ii'
N4     = CBS 10471 (*PBS* 5 7)
N5     = HS 1454 (*TMH* NF 3 34)
N6     = HS 1506 (*TMH* NF 3 35) + CBS 12614 (*PBS* 5 6)
N7     = Ni 3023 (*SLTN* 131) + Ni 4144 (*ISET* 2 123) + Ni 4452
         (*ISET* 2 121) + Ni 4473 (*ISET* 2 22) + Ni 4483 (*ISET*
         1 101) + Ni 4484 (*ISET* 1 67) iv 1'ff.
N8     = Ni 4574 (*ISET* 1 149)
N9     = Ni 9704 obv ii'; rev i
N10    = Ni 9706 (*OrNS* 22 pl. 38; *ISET* 2 111f.)
N11    = UM 29–13–20 + UM 29–13–29 (Ali 1964, pl. 53)
N12    = UM 29–16–139 + N 3264 + N N 3266 + N 3294 +
         N 3301 + N 3303 + N 3308 + N 3310 (all Ali 1964,
         pls. 24–5) + Ni 9701 (*ISET* 2, 114)
Ur1    = U.p (*UET* 8 58)
Ur2    = U.q (*UET* 8 59)
Ur3    = *UET* 8 60 (U.16859)
Unk1 = VAT 9157 iv (*VAS* 17 44)


*Format*


The Ur manuscripts as well as N1, N2, N4, N5, and N6, are imgida's,
that is standard one-column exercise tablets from the advanced level
of the curriculum. They contain either half of the text or the full
composition. The remaining Nippur tablets are all larger collections
of texts: N7 is a unique collection of various short compositions (Civil
1972:89–90, see below); N 8 is a prism with SEpM;[4] N10 and 12
are large tablets with SEpM (the former also with RCU). N9, known
from a transliteration by S. N. Kramer and subsequently studied by
me in Istanbul, is a small piece of a multicolumn compilation tablet
that contained all or part of SEpM. Unk1 is embedded in another Old
Babylonian letter collection. One of the Ur tablets (Ur3) was discovered

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[4] This stands for Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (formerly Letter Collection B,
see below). RCU stands for the Royal Correspondence of Ur; RCI for the Royal
Correspondence of Isin.

in the large "school" collection unearthed at no. 10 Quiet St., and
the other two may also come from that house (Sollberger 1962:40).

Only two of the Nippur tablets have established find-spots, both
from schooling environments. N1 was found in House I, level 8.2,
and N2 in the famous Room F in the excavations of section TA in
that city (Robson 2001).

*Context*

The immediate school context is the groups of short letters, letter-
prayers, and other miscellaneous items, known at present as "Letter
Collection B." This is an unfortunate term, but we are stuck with
it for the moment. The name, and the reconstruction of the contents,
follows the edition of Ali (1964). The labeling of the letter collections
was based on two Nippur tablets, a smaller one that contains the
three most commonly copied items from the Royal Correspondence
of Ur, and a larger one that groups together twenty letters and other
compositions. The first is a one-off compilation and does not represent
any collection (3 NT- 311, Ali 1964: pls. 22–3); the latter, reconstructed
from many small fragments by Miguel Civil, was in reality but one
version of a grouping of texts that in its fullest Nippur realization
had not twenty, but at least twenty-two compositions, with somewhat
variable order (UM 29.16.139+, Ali 1964:xxiv–v). In view of the fact
that there is no Collection A, and that Letter Collection B includes
four non-epistolary items, I prefer the term Sumerian Epistolary
Miscellany (SEpM) for the latter.[5] In addition to the large tablet
reconstructed by Civil, the Nippur SEpM can be reconstructed from
smaller compilation tablets, one or more prisms, and from catch lines
on one-column practice tablets. A full discussion of the many issues
surrounding the matter of SEpM would take up more pages than
the rest of this article, and will be presented elsewhere.[6] Here I will
restrict the discussion to the Nippur, Uruk, and Ur traditions, and
concentrate only on issues pertinent to the matter at hand. Moreover,
for convenience and comprehensibility, I will retain the traditional
B numbering.

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[5] These are dedicatory inscriptions (*Axe for Nergal*, *Nintinuga's Dog* [B18]), the
*Announcement of the Loss of a Seal* (B 12), as well as TT (B 9)
[6] For a slightly different appraisal, see Robson (2001:57–9).

Fig 1. The Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany ("Letter Collection B")

|  | Nippur | Ur | Uruk | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RCU | 1 | x | | |
| RCI | 2 | | | |
| RCI | 3 | x | | |
| RCI | 4 | x | | |
| RCI | 5 | | | |
| Ur-saga (Ur) | 6 | x | x | x |
| Lugalnisage (N) | 7 | x | | x |
| Lugal-nisage (N) | 8 | x | | x |
| Tumal Text | 9 | x | x | x |
| Ensi/sanga letter | 10 | | x | x |
| Nippur context | 11 | x | x | |
| Loss of Seal (N) | 12 | | | x |
| Axe for Nergal[7] | | | | |
| Letter to the Generals[8] | | | | |
| Ilaba-andul | 13 | | x | |
| Ugubi | 14 | | x | |
| Utudug to Ilaknu"id | 15 | | x | |
| Lugalnisage to Enlilmassu | 16 | x | x | x |
| Inanaka d. of Enlilmassu | 17 | x | | |
| N's Dog-Lugalnisage s. Zuzu | 18 | | x | |
| Inim-Inanna to Enlilmassu | 19 | | x | |
| Inim-Inana to Lugalnisage | 20 | | | x |

From this chart it is obvious that many of the items from the Nippur
SEpM are present at Ur and Uruk, but there is no evidence that
they were as a rule used in the same order. The sample of texts is
simply too small to make a determination as to the sequence at Ur.
Moreover, the matter is complicated by the existence of one compilation
tablet (*UET* 6 173) that contains some "Collection B" epistles as well
as otherwise unattested letter-prayers. The order is as follows:

  (x)
  B17
  (x)
  B1a (Abaindasa letter-prayer)
  B4

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[7] Behrens 1988.
[8] Civil 1994:182–4.

unidentified letter-prayer
B8
(x)

A second compilation tablet from Ur (*UET* 6 174) has, in its pre-
served sections: (x)-B7-(three RCU letters)-B17-(x). It is therefore pos-
sible that while some of the Nippur "Collection B" items were used
for instructional purposes at Ur, there was no set sequence that
would correspond to the order used at Nippur.

From Uruk we have single exercise tablets for just a few letters,
in addition to a listing in a unique catalog of literary letters and
related materials. The order of the "B" items is as follows (Cavigneaux
1996:58):

14'. B 9 (Tumal)
15'. B 19
16'. B 13
17'. B 14
18'. Sumi-atar letter (Michalowski 1978:30)
19'. Etel-pi-Damu to Mardu letter-prayer (Hallo 1998:405–409).
20'. Axe for Nergal
21'. Inin-andul letter (Cohen 1977)
22'. B 17
23'. ᴵur-ᵈnanna-ra [. . .]
24'. B 15
25'. ᴵbur-ᵈsu'en lugal-mu [. . .]
26'. B 16
27'. B 11
28'. B 10
29'. Letter to the Generals
30'. B 18

One should note that the *Scherbenloch* in Uruk has revealed OB lit-
erary letters that are not listed in this catalog, but then the latter is
not complete, and the tablets in this collection clearly were dumped
from more than one schooling site.

Thus at Nippur the Tumal text was taught in conjunction with
the other SEpM texts. The structure of this compilation is interest-
ing in the context of the present discussion, and can be discerned
from the information contained in Fig. 1 above. The compendium
begins with a letter that bridges it to the Royal Correspondence of
Ur (RCU). At this point the tradition is fluid: sometimes it is the

letter-prayer from Abaindasa to Šulgi (B1a, Ali 1964:53–62), some-
times a letter from Aradmu to the king that mentions this officer
(B1b, 3 N-T 80 [Ali 1964, pl. 31]) and dupls.). This is then followed
by four letters of the Isin kings Iddin-Dagan and Lipit-Eštar, kings
whose royal hymns are included among the first four literary texts
studied in Nippur during the Old Babylonian period. The sixth item
is a letter of a citizen of Ur named Ursaga. After this the compila-
tion moves on to a group of texts that share a Nippur locale and
possibly an Ur III date (items 7 through 12). The Tumal text itself,
which is no. 9, is followed by letters B 10 and 11, which include Nippur
realia; B 12 is an announcement of the loss of a seal that includes
as a witness Lugal-melam, governor of the city throughout the reign
of Amar-Su'en. This is sometimes followed by the *Letter to the Generals*,
which mentions a field in the Tumal area, and then by the dedica-
tion of an axe for Nergal by a gentleman named Nibru$^{ki}$-ta-lú. After
an interlude with miscellaneous letters, SEpM returns to the Nippur
theme in items 16 through 20. The Nippur associations of many
items are further reinforced by the mention of the goddess Nintinuga
in B17 and 18, as her cult was centered in that city.

   The Tumal text is also included in two other compilations. The
first, N7, is a unique collection that contained at least thirteen com-
positions, including two letters or letter-prayers, some proverbs and
short texts that are included in other Nippur compendia, as well as
all the non-epistolary items from SEpM (Civil 1972:89–90). Beginning
in col. iv, the tablet contains TT, followed possibly by another text,
then *Axe for Nergal*, *Announcement of the Loss of a Seal* (B12), and *Nintinuga's
Dog* (B18). The second, Unk1, is a collection of literary letters of
unknown origin, one of which, at least, mentions Nippur.

   From this brief survey it is clear that various short texts, some of
them letters, were often combined together for pedagogical purposes
by teachers in Old Babylonian schools, often on an ad hoc basis.
The only one that seems to have been used with some regularity is
SEpM, but even that may have been a short-lived collection that
was used in a few houses in Nippur.


### The Cult Places


Tumal was the ceremonial center connected with the goddess Ninlil,
located south of Nippur on a watercourse that connected it with
Enlil's city (Steinkeller 2001:66–71; Sharlach 2004:11, with refs.).

It is not clear when the place was founded, but it first appears in the Old Akkadian period, written as tum-al[ki].[9] It came to prominence during the time of the Ur III kings who made it one of their royal residences. They celebrated various festivals there, most prominently during the eighth month of the year, with the participation of the court together with foreign emissaries (see below). Tumal was the seat of a royal palace,[10] and the main funerary cult place of Ur-Namma was in the city (Steinkeller 2001:68–9).

The Nippur cult places and their builders are:
1. Iri-nanam—En-išib-baragesi[11]
2. Bur-šušu'a—Mes-ane-pada
3. Du-numun-bura—Gilgameš
4. Kiri-mah—Nane
5. Ekur—Ur-Namma
6. Ekur-igigal—Išbi-Erra[12]

We know very little about the cult places listed in the text, but more can actually be said on this topic than is usually acknowledged, even though many of the references concerning them have been collected before. Outside of the Tumal story the names appear together only once in an Old Babylonian lexical text. Most of them are also found in a metrological text from Nippur that appears to have been copied from a Kassite-period original, although it may actually go back to an earlier time. The lexical text is the Nippur version of the acrographic list Proto-Kagal. In lines 176–81 it reads (Civil 1971:71–72):

$e_2$-kur
$e_2$-kur-igi-gal$_2$
$e_2$-[giš]kiri$_6$-mah
$e_2$-uru$_2$-na-nam
$e_2$-bur-šu-šu$_2$-a
$e_2$-du$_6$-numun$_2$-bur$_2$

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[9] *OSP* 2 148:4, see Steinkeller 1993:145. The writing is also found in some Ur III texts. As far as I am able to determine, the first scholar to properly identify ib$_2$(=tum)-al as Tumal was Thorkild Jacobsen (1938:421).

[10] $e_2$-gal: *RA* 62 12 18:20; *SNAT* 528:4, *SANTAG* 6 30:1, *YOS* 4 274:11, *SANTAG* 7 31:ix' 3'.

[11] Glassner (2004:157) translated the first line as "In his city (of Nippur), Enme(n)-baragesi, the king . . .," but there can be no doubt that this is a place name.

[12] ETCSL renders the last line incorrectly as "Ishbi-Erra, who looks after the E-kur, built the E-šutum of Enlil."

The order is different, but all the cult places of the Tumal text are present here. Different in many respects is the enumeration of some of these places in the "metrological text" (Bernhardt and Kramer 1975):

> 20. [. . . e$_2$]- kur-igi-gal$_2$
> (followed by the temple of Nuska, etc.)
> 45. *he-pi* kiri$_6$-mah
> 46. 3 iku du$_6$!(KI)-numun$_2$-bura$_x$(EBUR) *u$_3$* bur-šu$_2$-a

Interestingly, however, the first three cult places of the TT are otherwise attested only in literary compositions. It is only with the fourth item, Kiri-mah, that we may be approaching some real place in Nippur, since a place of this name occurs in Ur III administrative documents from Drehem and there can be no doubt that it was located in Nippur (Sallaberger 1993:110–11). The fifth item, the Ekur, requires no commentary. It was rebuilt by Ur-Namma, as the TT asserts.

Iri-nanam, the first of the cultic places, is the most enigmatic. Other than its prominent mention in TT, it is known only from the Nippur recension of *Proto-Kagal* and from two late lists that are obviously part of the lexical tradition, the *Nippur Compendium* (George 1992:148, 150) and the *Canonical Temple List* (George 1993:11–12). More curious is the fact that this name is identical with the incipits of at least two literary compositions: *Enlil and Ninlil* 1 and *Nanše Hymn A*.[13] Moreover, it occurs repeatedly in the similar opening sections of both compositions, poems that describe two different cities—Nippur and Lagaš. I have no idea of what to make of these associations, but they must have meant something to the teachers and students who worked with TT.

Bur-šušu'a, Kiri-mah, and Du-numun-bura are also enumerated in two related liturgical laments concerning Nippur, $^{d}$utu-gin$_7$ e$_3$-ta and zi-bu-u$_3$-um zi-bu-u$_3$-um (Cohen 1988). Both are known from Old Babylonian as well as first-millennium sources from various sites, although only the first is attested in a solitary Nippur manuscript.

The final cult place, the Ekur-igigal, attributed here to Išbi-Erra, is well attested, even if the information is less informative than one wants. It occurs in an offering list from Nippur that epigraphically

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[13] The incipit is also attested in two related catalogs of OB school texts (Kramer 1942): once in the Louvre catalog (l. 19) and twice in a Nippur catalog (lines 22 and 24).

comes from Ur III times, but which has no date preserved (*NATN* 879). The document begins with offerings for Enlil and Ninlil ša$_3$ e$_2$-kur-ra-igi-gal$_2$ (l. 3). Later information has been compiled by George (1993:117), and more recently by Richter (2004:43–5). The latter concludes that it must have been a major Nippur cult center, in Old Babylonian times at least.

There is some question as to the relationship between this place and $^{(d)}$kur-ra-igi-gal$_2$ in Ur III texts from Drehem (Sallaberger 1993:53). As far as I can determine, the latter, sometimes without the divine classifier, must be a minor divinity or a deified cultic object.[14] The issue is made more complicated by the evidence of one exemplar of a stamped Amar-Su'en brick inscription found at Nippur (Frayne 1997:248), which records the construction of ⌈kur-ra⌉-igi-gal$_2$, apparently without initial e$_2$, possibly qualified as ⌈e$_2$⌉-u$_6$-nir x, "temple tower."

The way in which these places were known can best be summarized in the following chart, which compares attestations in documents with purely literary traditions:

|                   | Ad/R | PKgN | OBlex | OBlit | MBmet | NCom | CTL |
|-------------------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-----|
| 1. Iri-nanam      |      | x    |       |       |       | x    | x   |
| 2. Bur-šušu'a     |      | x    |       | x     | x     | x    | x   |
| 3. Du-numun-bura  |      | x    |       | x     | x     |      |     |
| 4. Kiri-mah       | x    | x    |       | x     | x     | x    |     |
| 5. Ekur           | x    | x    | x     | x     |       | x    |     |
| 6. Ekur-igigal    | x    | x    | x     |       | x     |      | x   |

[Key: Ad/R = administrative/royal inscriptions; PKg = *Proto-Kagal Nippur* (OB); OBlex = IM 96881 (Isin, George 1993:4); OBlit = two litanies; MBmet = copy of MB Nippur metrological text; NCom = *Nippur Compendium* (1st mill., George 1992:148; 150); CTL = *Canonical Temple List* (1st mill., George 1993:11–12)]

The pattern is clear: it is obvious that there is a purely literary tradition that perpetuates the memory of these cult places. The only place outside of TT in which they occur together is the Nippur version of Proto-Kagal. The *MSL* edition (Civil 1971:63–88) comprises only texts from Nippur, but there are now also versions from Isin, "Sippar," and elsewhere (Veldhuis 1998). Interestingly, one of the

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[14] Ur III references: (with classifier) *CT* 32 50:27; *YOS* 4 248:3; (without classifier) *MVN* 10 169:3; *YOS* 18 12:16; *YOS* 18 13:31; *UTI* 6 3757:14'.

"Sippar" manuscripts (CBS 1864, Khazaba coll., courtesy of Niek Veldhuis), only lists Ekur and Ekur-igigal, omitting the others. This is but one more clue for the Nippur origin of TT.

## The Personalities

The characters who appear in this text share one feature—they are all literary figures and, with one exception, they are known not only from the *Sumerian King List*, but from other school texts as well. En-ishib-barage-si and his son Aka appear in Gilgameš tales and in a Šulgi hymn (Michalowski 2003), Gilgameš needs no introduction, and his son Ur-lugal has a role in "The Death of Gilgameš." Ur-Namma, Amar-Su'en, and Ibbi-Sin of the Ur III kingdom, as well as Išbi-Erra, founder of the Isin Dynasty, are all documented in a variety of poems learned in school.

Mes-ane-pada of Ur is another matter. He is the only person in TT who has no other literary life outside of the *King List*. Ironically, he is also the only pre-Ur III king who is actually attested in a contemporary text. We have one inscription in the name of such a ruler, as well as two votive texts in the name of a son by the name of A-ane-pada. The entry in TT follows exactly the information transmitted in the Old Babylonian version of SKL, but the appropriate section is not preserved in the only known Ur III manuscript of the composition, a matter that we shall take up below.

The Nane story in SP 3.31/35 and related compositions, as well his identity, has been discussed many times, most prominently by Kramer (1964:38–39), Gordon (1960:127 n. 47), Hallo (1978:73), Michalowski (1978:345), Alster (1997:380), and Steinkeller (2003:278). Although he occurs elsewhere in the "proverb collections," it is important to note that in SP 3 he occurs in the company of Išbi-Erra (SP 3.27) and Ur-Namma (SP 3.34), the two royal sponsors of Nippur construction who follow him according to TT. Although all of these entries in SP 3 are still fragmentary, they share one trait: they include Nippur.

In SKL and TT Nane and his son Mes-kiag-Nanna are identified as kings of Ur. In the Ur III manuscript of the *King List* (USKL), however, he is listed among the kings of Kiš, together with a son named Mes-nun-né. This has led Steinkeller (2003:278) to ask: "Is it possible that Nanne and Mesnune are in fact Mesanepada and

Meskiagnuna of Ur, whom USKL classified as Kišite rulers because
Mesanepada held the title of lugal Kiš<sup>ki</sup>?" This is but part of a larger
argument which the reader is invited to investigate, but it makes
much more sense than the older idea (e.g., Gordon 1960:127 n. 47)
according to which Nane is an abbreviation of A'anepada. If
Steinkeller's suggestions hold, the listing in TT follows a redaction
that was closer to an OB rather than one of the Ur III versions of
the *King List*. Note, finally, that a completely different enumeration
of famous kings, likewise derived from SKL and mixed in with figures
of the Gilgameš literary tradition, is found in the *Ballad of Early
Rulers*, which mentions Alulu, Etana, Gilgameš, Ziusudra, Huwawa,
Enkidu, Bazi and Zizi (Alster 1990:32).


## *The Final Protagonist*

The person who purportedly dictated this story was Lu-Inana, chief
leatherworker (ašgab gal) of Enlil. The name is commonly attested
in Ur III texts, even at Nippur, but no Lu-Inana from this profession
is known. Indeed, the position of ašgab gal is rare in Ur III texts:
only three people are known who carried this title. A'akala, who
who is designated simply as ašgab in Umma texts, had a seal that
read: "A'a-kala, son of Lu-buluga, ašgab gal," known from texts
spanning from Š 48 (Aleppo 278, reading of seal to be corrected)
to the last month of ŠS 3 (*SAT* 3 1360).[15] He was succeeded at this
post by his son Inim-Šara (IS 3.xi, *CHEU* 24). At Nippur there is a
Šeš-kal-la dumu ašgab gal (*NRVN* 1 59), but his father's name eludes
us. Interestingly, a Lu-Inana ašgab is known from Isin, from the very
beginning of Išbi-Erra's reign, whose career spanned over thirty years.
He was the "foreman" of the leatherworkers (Van De Mieroop
1987:58–9), but that can only be deduced from the fact that he
heads lists of such workers and receives hides, not from any specific
title. The one surviving imprint of his seal is incomplete; it reads Lu-
Inana, son of Ur-taba-[. . .] (*BIN* 9 129). One should keep in mind
the case of A'akala of Umma, who only used the term ašgab gal in
his seal inscription, using the simple ašgab in the texts themselves.

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[15] The term is rare outside of economic texts as well. In the lexical literature it
appears only once, to my knowledge, in Proto-Lu 683 (*MSL* 12, 57).

## *The Occasion*

The TT is concerned with two matters: the building of certain cult places in Nippur and the "bringing" of Ninlil to Tumal, presumably from Nippur. We have ample documentation of such ceremonies during the Ur III period in the eighth month of each year, when the goddess and her consort traveled between the two cities by boat and the whole court, including foreign ambassadors, took part in the celebrations (Oh'e 1986, Sallaberger 1993:142, Sharlach 2005). Although divine journeys and visits are attested from earlier times, there is no pre-Ur III evidence for Ninlil's journeys to Tumal, but that may be a function of the lack of relevant documentation. For the time being, however, it appears that we are witnessing a royal tradition that is securely linked with the monarchs of the Ur III dynasty. Indeed, the only historical evidence that links a king with the proper cult place in Nippur and his son with Tumal comes from this period. It is well known that Ur-Namma rebuilt the Ekur in Nippur. There is also evidence that his son Šulgi did major work on the restoration of Tumal. As already noted by Steinkeller (2001:69), *MVN* 15 390 documents an enormous number of laborers from the Umma province who were stationed at Tumal for massive building activities in Šulgi's thirty-seventh regnal year. Texts from Girsu dated two years earlier refer to various workers stationed in Tumal, includ-ing builders.[16] In fact, the first Ur III reference to the city dates only from Š 32.vi (*WMAH* 171); all of this suggests that whatever Tumal may have been, it was massively rebuilt by Šulgi during the third decade of his reign. Perhaps this work was connected with the funer-ary cult of Ur-Namma, since the first known mention of this is in Š 34 (*Syracuse* 130:2). Admittedly, the evidence for this is sparse and circumstantial at best, and it is not supported by the evidence of his ninth year name, which was named after the "caulking" of the barge of Ninlil. It is generally assumed that this was also commemorated in the royal hymn that has been designated as Šulgi R (Frayne 1997:98). This would suggest that Enlil and Ninlil already traveled to Tumal much earlier, but such connections between year names and royal "hymns," although widely accepted, are vague at best.

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[16] *CT* 1 4: 12, *ITT* 4 7472:6, *Nik* 2 481: 8,13,14.

*Conclusions*

The accumulation of disparate data provided here leads unequivocally to the conclusion that the TT is not a historical document, but quite simply a school concoction based primarily on the SKL and on the Nippur version of the lexical list Proto-Kagal.[17] Like many middle level texts of this type it uses proper names, and incorporates pedagogical principles of repetition of old information in new context combined with new knowledge; in a sense it is an example of a compositional principle that Civil (1987:37) called enumeration, namely that "a text may consist mainly of a listing of terms of a lexical set," and our understanding of the scope of such intertextual creativity has been expanded by Rubio (2003). By the time a student came across TT, he would have encountered the royal and place names in proverbs, lexical texts, and other excerpts that were used at the elementary and post-elementary levels of the educational process. The royal figures were not only literary, but also represented the skeletal succession of dynasties of the Old Babylonian core of SKL: Kiš-Ur-Uruk-Ur-(Isin), significantly omitting the kings of Agade.[18] Its brevity, reliance on names, and Nippur locale explain its inclusion in the SEpM. The date of composition is unknown, but it seems to belong together with texts that originated in, or pretended to originate in Ur III times or just after. It may have been composed by a teacher or even by a student, relying on well-known materials, and if there was an in-joke concerning a local leatherworker, we shall be none the wiser. Moreover, the very structure of royal reference may also be meaningful in TT: in each case a father builds a cult place in Nippur and then his son and successor "brings" Ninlil to Tumal. The narrator Lu-Inana associates himself with these regal children, following in their footsteps. Are we meant to draw the conclusion, by implication, that this leatherworker was likewise of royal blood?

Local reference aside, one can clearly detect humor and irony in the choice of the major protagonist. Would a leatherworker, even if he had achieved a leadership position in his profession, have had any knowledge of cuneiform and would he be boasting of having

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[17] These conclusions were, to a degree, anticipated by Civil (1988:230 echoed by Glassner 1993: 93), who wrote: "L'histoire de Tummal, par contre, n'est qu'une légende locale sans ambition qui rencontre des vissitudes de ce petit sanctuaire mal connu."

[18] On this see, most recently, Michalowski (2003:202).

walked in the footsteps of all of these literary heroes? Hardly, one would think. The context of TT is not history and royal legitimation, but the hermetic world of the Old Babylonian schools, detached from the real world by their employment of a long dead language. Here, in one short text, pedagogy meets irony and learned display, and the use of purely literary place names at the beginning mirrors the use of impossibly long life spans in SKL as a marker of hoary antiquity.

The circumstances under which someone would put this all together will never be revealed. I think that it is safe to say, however, that this little ditty cannot be considered a historical document of any kind, and should never be invoked in any discussion of early Mesopotamia outside of the context of school materials and the redactional challenges offered by Sumerian texts.

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# ŠULGI AND THE DEATH OF SUMERIAN

## Gonzalo Rubio

> Omnis et Assyrium tellus aspirat amomum,
> Et uincunt humiles tecta superba casæ.
> Jan Everaerts, *Iulia* II 85–86.

### *Two Passages in Šulgi Hymns B and C*[1]

Two of the Sumerian royal hymns devoted to Šulgi portray this king of Ur as a consummate polyglot. In *Šulgi Hymn C*, we are told he spoke Amorite and Elamite, apparently as fluidly as he spoke Sumerian (119–124):[2]

[eme mar]-tu nig$_2$ eme-gi-ra-gin$_7$ he$_2$-[en-ga-zu-am$_3$]
[. . .] x lu$_2$ kur-ra hur-sag-ta du-[a]
[sa$_2$] ⌜ha-ma⌝-ni-eš$_2$ eme mar-tu-a inim hu-mu-ne-ni-[gi$_4$]
[em]e elam nig$_2$ eme-gi-ra-gin$_7$ he$_2$-en-ga-zu-am$_3$
[. . . elam]$^{ki}$-ma nid[ba] x x bu$_5$-bu$_5$-re-eš$_2$
sa$_2$ ha-ma-ni-eš$_2$ eme elam-ma inim hu-mu-ne-ni-gi$_4$

I know Amorite as well as I know Sumerian,
. . . the foreigners that come from the mountains
Come to me and I reply to them in Amorite.
I know Elamite as well as I know Sumerian,
. . . in Elam, "distributing"(?) . . . offerings . . .
They come to me and I reply to them in Amorite.

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[1] A preliminary approach to these two passages can be found in Rubio (2000).
[2] For the line numbering and the text, see Civil (1985:73). In Jacob Klein's unpublished *PSD* manuscript of this hymn (Hermann Behrens' files), these lines are 121–126, which is the numbering kept in the version of the Oxford online corpus. Aside from the Oxford composite texts available on line, the only published editions of hymns C and B can be found in Castellino (1972). Besides the nine textual witnesses identified in Castellino (1972:247), one can add several others (Civil 1998:35): CBS 15114 (Gerardi 1984:187); CBS 13668 (Gerardi 1984:170); CBS 14080 (Gerardi 1984:180) + N 2555 + N 2643; UM 29-15-710 (Gerardi 1984:209); N 993 (Gerardi 1984:237); N 1768 + N 1806 + N 3386; N 3244; UM 29-15-710 + N 6275; UM 29-16-485; and N 3233 (+ N 2568).

Because of the parallel with line 124, the beginning of line 121 should be reconstructed DI, which can be transcribed here as either $sa_2$ or silim. There are two compound verbs from which to choose: $sa_2$—$dug_4$ "to arrive" and silim—$dug_4$ "to say 'health!'/'prosperity!'" (silim < Semitic *šlm*). However, no reading corresponds to the expected meaning "to greet." A possible meaning "to greet" for silim—$dug_4$ would be more appropriate here, but it is not attested in the common usage of this compound verb. The verb silim—$dug_4$ does not refer to the speaker's good wishes toward his interlocutor—the core of any salutation—but rather constitutes a sort of brief prayer or wishful exclamation, similar to "may I enjoy good health." Thus, the reading $sa_2$—$dug_4$ and the translation "ils arrivent chez moi," as proposed by Civil (1985:73), are more appropriate; see also Attinger (1993:638, 645, 670).

The verb $bu_5$ (or $bur_{10}$) occurs here as a *hapax legomenon*. The general sense is that of "to blow (said of the the wind), to blow away" (*PSD* B:171), as in in—$bu_5$-$bu_5$ "to blow away the straw/chaff" (Civil 1994:96). In the absence of a parallel for the expression nidba—$bu_5$-$bu_5$, any translation is simply conjectural. The translation "distributing" is employed here only to convey the impression of the unusual—perhaps poetic—occurrence of $bu_5$ in this expression.

At the end of line 124, some manuscripts have hu-mu-ni-ne-$gi_4$, which should be corrected and read hu-mu-ne-ni-$gi_4$, as in line 121. Immediately after this line (124 in Civil's ms., 126 in Klein's) there is a *lacuna*: two lines are missing in all the manuscripts that once had them (e.g., the reverse of CBS 8549 [*STVC* 50]), and the line after this two-line *lacuna* is seriously damaged as well (one can hardly see the traces of two different signs of difficult identification).

According to this passage in Šulgi hymn C, this king would have known at least three languages: Elamite, Amorite, and Sumerian. Nevertheless, another passage in *Šulgi B* may help to reconstruct what was said in the two lines missing in *Šulgi C*. Moreover, *Šulgi B* increases this king's language count (*Šulgi B* 206–219):[3]

a e$_3$-a-gin$_7$ gu$_3$ gal u$_4$ gal u$_4^?$-a [x x]
hi-il-zum$^{ki}$ dab$_5$-be$_2$ elam um-me-⌈x⌉
a$_2$-gal$_2$ inim-ma-bi-ir gaba-ri-ni mu-zu
dumu ki-en-gi$^{ki}$-ra numun-ba ga$_2$-me-en

210  ur-sag ki-en-gi-ra ur-sag ga$_2$-me-en
3-kam-ma-aš [lu$_2^?$] kur gi$_6$-gi$_6$-ga-ke$_4$
ga$_2$-e-me-en [gu$_2$ mu-na]-⌈de$_2$⌉-e
4-kam-ma-aš [mar-tu] lu$_2$-kur-ra a [x x]
eme-bal-e mu-un-da-an-gub-be$_2$

215  ga$_2$-e eme-ni-ta inim-inim kilib-ba-ni si mu-un-na-ab-sa$_2$-e
5-kam-ma-aš šu-bir$_4$-a U NAM KUR gu$_3$-ra
eme-ni dumu-uru-na nu-me-en-na inim ba-an-di-ni-ib-kar-re
di ki-en-gi$^{ki}$-ke$_4$ si-sa$_2$-da-mu-de$_3$
5-bi eme-bi ba-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-in

When . . . like the torrential waters in the roar of a storm,
During the capture of a citadel in Elam . . .
I understand the replies of the mighty man who is in command.
I am Sumerian by ancestry.

210  I am a warrior, a warrior of Sumer.
In third place, with [the men] of the black mountains
I myself speak.
In fourth place, with [the Amorites] men of the mountains . . .
I serve as interpreter.

215  I myself correct the mistakes he makes in his own language.[4]
In fifth place, when a Subartean shouts . . .

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Ni 4078 (*ISET* 2:93); Ni 4335; Ni 4508 (*ISET* 2:122); UM 29-15-331 (Gerardi 1984: 206); UM 29-16-214g (Gerardi 1984:215); 3N-T345 (IM 58438); 3N-T475 (A 30248); 3N-T533 (A 30264); 3N-T575 (IM 58563); 3N-T662 (IM 58602); 3N-T902,73; 3N-T908,293; 3N-T918,416; 3N-T918.431 + 3N-T927,529; 3N-T919, 436. Furthermore, ms. A (*STVC* 52 + CBS 13992) in Castellino should also include the following joins, some of which were already listed in his edition, but as independent mss. (see Gerardi 1984:89): N 2804 (Castellino ms. z); N 2805; N 2807; N 2809; N 2811 (Castellino ms. v); N 2812; N 2813; N 2820; and CBS 8029. Mss F (UM 29.16.411) and G (UM 29.16.408 + UM 29.16.414a) join together with UM 29-16-410 (Gerardi 1984:218). Mss. K (N 1324) and l (N 1526 + N 1536) join together with N 1342 (Gerardi 1984:239). Ms. i (3N-T900,19 + 3N-T900,29) joins k (UM 55-21-323 = 3N-T411). Mss. ii (N 1573), m (N 3287) and h (N 3288) join together with N 6963. One should also correct ms. p in Castellino (1972:29): it is not CBS 2612, but CBS 2197 (the mistake is repeated in Gerardi 1984:24).

   4  Literally, "I correct his confused/mistaken words in his language."

I catch the words in his language, in spite of not being his
  fellow citizen.
When I impart justice in the cases of Sumer,
I answer in these five languages.

Concerning a e$_3$-a in line 206 ("breach, water outlet; gushing water"),
see *PSD* A/1:62–63. There are two logically connected topoi regard-
ing "torrential (or gushing) waters" and "roaring:" the torrential
waters roar (*Šulgi D* 290–91); and the roar that is like gushing waters
(*Gudea Cyl. A* viii 25; *Šulgi B* 206). Moreover, the association between
a e$_3$-a and invaders or foreigners may have been proverbial, as with
the Elamites in the *Sumer and Ur Lament* (257) and the "Subarteans"
in the *Uruk Lament* (4:22 = E 97).

In line 207, the term hi-il-zum is an Akkadian loanword (probably
more of a *Fremdwort* than a *Lehnwort*). Akkadian ḫilṣu meaning "fortress"
occurs only in lexical lists; but it is much more common when it
refers to a construction within the temple complex (CAD H:187–88).
For line 208, *PSD* (A/2:58a) offers a different interpretation: "I know
(how) to oppose the one who is forceful in command(ing)." The *PSD*
translation is based on the reasonable assumption that gaba-ri does
not usually mean "reply" in literary texts, but rather "rival, equal,
match" (see Attinger 1993:510). However, in the context of Šulgi's
language competence, "reply" seems the most adequate translation.

In line 211, the expression "black mountains" may refer to Meluhha,
as in the *Curse of Akkade* (48): mu-luh-ha$^{ki}$ lu$_2$ kur gi$_6$-ga-ke$_4$ "Meluhhans,
men of the black mountains." The same epithet (kur gi$_6$ "black moun-
tains") is used for Meluhha in *Enki and the World Order* (221).[5] Thus,
this may refer to the language of Meluhha. A Sargonic seal men-
tions an interpreter from Meluhha: *šu-i$_3$-li$_2$-šu* eme-bal me-luh-ha$^{ki}$;
see Boehmer (1965:fig. 47 no. 557) and Edzard (1968/69:15 no. 33).

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[5] The reading ku$_{10}$-ku$_{10}$ (or kukku$_2$) of MI.MI should be reserved for the adjec-
tive "dark," the noun "darkness," and the verb "to get dark(er), to darken"; cp.
*ekletu* "darkness," *eklu* "dark," *da'mu* "dark," *eṭūtu* "darkness" (*Izi* H app. 1–6 [*MSL*
13 p. 209]). As a verb, it seems to always occur with a reduplicated stem, both in
finite and non-finite verbal forms (ku$_{10}$-ku$_{10}$); e.g., *Lugal-e* 72, *Ninurta and the Turtle* B
26, *Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana* 248. However, the reduplication may be simply appar-
ent and this verb is perhaps to be read kukku$_2$, or /kuku/, phonotactically similar
to tuku, kuš$_2$-u$_3$, ru-gu$_2$, tu-lu. Thus, for the actual color "black," one should prefer
a reading gi$_6$-gi$_6$ of MI-MI as the reduplicated stem of the adjective gi$_6$.

In line 216, the sequence U NAM KUR could be read buru$_3$ nam kur, a difficult, unusual, and unparalleled expression that could be translated as "the depths of the destiny of the land."

The epiphonematic conclusion to this passage, line 220, is not reproduced above, because it is of difficult interpretation due to the existence of conflicting variants: e$_2$-gal-ga$_2$ kaš$_4$ inim-bal-e eme$^?$-e (variants KA.UD and KA-ma) li-bi$_2$-in-du$_3$-e (variant li-ib$_2$-du$_3$-e). There are several different translations for this line:

(a) "In my palace, the messenger that speaks—*or* "he who translates (what) the messenger (says)"—does not indulge in *folly*(?) (zu$_2$-bir$_2$ = KA.UD)"; cp. bir$_2$ "laughter" (*PSD* B:157). This would imply that, given Šulgi's language expertise, nobody could fool him.

(b) "In my palace, he who translates (what) the messenger (says) does not *commit calumny*(?)." This translation would depend on the problematic (unattested) compound verb found in the noun nam-eme-di "calumny" (\*eme—dug$_4$?), frequently connected to the verb eme sig—dug$_4$ (or inim sig—dug$_4$) "to calumniate," although the latter is most likely unrelated to eme/inim sig—gu$_7$, which rather than "to calumniate" means "to fool, deceive" (*pace* Attinger 1993:486–88).

(c) "In my palace, he who translates (what) the messenger (says) *does not 'deliver' the message* (inim-ma = KA-ma)," i.e., Šulgi was able to understand the messenger before the interpreter's intervention. This translation depends on the verb eme/inim—dug$_4$, which, among other things, means "to deliver a message" (Attinger 1993:496–97).

(d) "In my palace, the messenger that speaks—*or* "he who translates (what) the messenger (says)"—does not *employ a language difficult to understand*." This translation would connect this verb (ka—du$_3$) to ka-du$_3$ = (*w*)*ašṭu* "difficult" (*CAD* A/2:475–76). The Akkadian term is used to qualify a language or a script in a tablet with an inscription of Assurbanipal, L$_4$ (Streck 1916:256 i 17; Borger 1996:187; *CAD* A/2:476a): *ṣullulu akkadû ana šutēšuri ašṭu* "the arcane Akkadian [script], so difficult to get right." Nevertheless, the Sumerian verb ka—du$_3$ normally refers to a verbal confrontation, as in the following: *Gudea Cyl. A* xiii 4–5 (dumu-u$_3$ ama-ni-ra ka-du$_3$-a nu-ma-na-dug$_4$ "no son shall say anything disrespectful to his mother"); *Nanše Hymn* (169: dumu ama-a-ni-ir ka-du$_3$-a dug$_4$-ga "a son who says disrespectful things to his mother"; 136: ka-du$_3$-a nig$_2$-a$_2$-zi dug$_4$-ga "disrespectful and threatening pronouncements"); a Sumerian proverb from Ur (*UET* 6/2 296:4: ka-zu na-ba-an-du$_3$-du$_3$-e "may not your

mouth be disrespectful [?]”); an Early Dynastic proverb of difficult interpretation (ka-du$_3$; Alster 1991–92:18 no. 165); and the *Instructions of Šuruppak* (109: ka-du$_3$-du$_3$-e kišib i$_3$-il$_2$-il$_2$ “‘*kadudu*’ [‘the disrespectful’/‘the accuser’?] brings sealed documents”).

(e) “In my palace, the messenger that speaks—*or* “he who translates (what) the messenger (says)”—cannot deceive me.” This translation assumes a reading inim sig$_{11}$ for KA.UD. Confusions between SIG and UD are not very common, but are not impossible either.

In spite of the uncertainties posed by line 120, all possible interpretations point to a similar statement: nobody was able to fool Šulgi in matters of translation, since he was such a polyglot.

The five languages mentioned in *Šulgi Hymn B* are not immediately obvious. Nonetheless, if one compares this passage to that in *Šulgi C*, the five languages emerge more clearly: Sumerian, Elamite, Amorite, “Subartean” (most likely Hurrian), and Meluhhan.[6] If one wants to give any sort of historical credibility—even if only as part of the boasting discourse of kingship—to these claims, the date of the Šulgi hymns would need to be considered. As is well known, the vast majority of Šulgi hymns are preserved in Old Babylonian manuscripts. Nevertheless, at least one textual witness of Šulgi hymn A dates to the Ur III period, and the incipit of this hymn is attested in two Ur III catalogues.[7] Furthermore, the general historical framework is particularly well-known, especially in regard to the relation between Šulgi and Elam.[8]

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[6] The Amorite language is attested exclusively in anthroponyms; see Streck 2000. Likewise the majority of anthroponyms associated with Subartu are Hurrian. However, the label “Subartean” appears in some lexical lists along with words that are neither Akkadian nor Sumerian in general (Covigneaux 1980–83; 640a); on Subartu and Subartean, see Michalowski (1986, 1999) and Potts (1994: 21–22, 94–95, 138–39). Our knowledge of Meluhha (probably the Gujarat peninsula on the Indian subcontinent) is linked to its occurrences with Magan (Oman); see Heimpel (1987, 1993–97), Parpola *et al.* (1977), Thapar (1975), Krishnamurti (1983), Potts (1990: 133–150, 165–67; 1997: 254–275), Westenholz (1999: 39–40, 46–47, 97–102), Michaux-Colombot (2001). In Cyl. A xvi 22, Meluhha is mentioned as a source of “bright carnelian” (gug gi-rin-e). In *Enki and Ninhursag* (B II 3; Attinger 1984: 12), Meluhha occurs also as a source of carnelian; see Steinkeller (1982: 248). In a literary composition attested in two Ur III manuscripts from Nippur, there is a mention of shipments of wood from Magan and Meluhha; see Michalowski (1988: 160).

[7] This prism containing *Šulgi A* (text H in Klein’s edition, Ni 4254 = *SLTNi* 82) was described by Klein as “written with a neat and archaizing script” and with “numerous deviations and phonetic writings;” see Klein (1981:169 n. 263). Although Klein does not date this prism to Ur III, Alster does (1993:5 n. 12). See also Rubio (2000a: 216).

[8] On Šulgi and Elam, see T. Potts (1994:129–140) and D.T. Potts (1999:130–39). Compare, for instance, the inscriptions commemorating the restoration of the temple

What might be slightly less obvious is the cultural *milieu* that explains and justifies Šulgi's alleged language skills—or, at least, the fact that claims concerning such skills could be part of an encomiastic and propagandistic discourse. The presence of interpreters and translators reveals the practical and political need to know other languages in early Mesopotamia, which was at the crossroads of cultural contacts with Magan (Oman), Meluhha (probably the peninsula of Gujarat), Dilmun (probably Baḥrain and the nearby area in Arabia), Elam, Anatolia, etc. The presence of interpreters (eme-bal) in this context of political, commercial, and cultural contacts is well documented already in the Sargonic period. For instance, a Sargonic text mentions male (guruš) and female servants (geme$_2$), or "serfs" *avant la lettre*, who were taken as spoils of war for the property (e$_2$) of a "chief interpreter" (ugula eme-bal) in Susa (Gelb 1968:95–96). Also in the Sargonic period, one finds the famous seal referring to an interpreter from Meluhha (see above, *à propos* of *Šulgi B* 211). Later on, in the Ur III period, a document dating to the sixth year of Šu-Sîn lists the rations given to Panana (or Banana), a man from Marhaši, and to three other three men: "the messenger and the interpreters who were assigned to the man from Marhaši" (sukal eme-bal ki lu$_2$ mar-ha-ši$^{ki}$ gub-ba-me-eš$_2$).[9]

Beyond third-millennium Mesopotamia, the role and status of translators and interpreters in the Mesopotamian world and the Ancient Near East in general would deserve a detailed study.[10] Among all the terminology associated with these activities, the term *targumannu* (or *turgumannu* = eme-bal) has been the center of attention. It has been argued that the Akkadian word would have a Hittite origin (*tarkummai-*, *tarkummiya-* "to announce, to translate, to serve as interpreter").[11] In

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of Inšušinak in Susa by Šulgi, which are attested in an inscription copied on several bricks (Steible Šulgi 6 = Frayne Šulgi 31) and in another one inscribed both on bronze canephors and foundation tablets (Steible Šulgi 12 = Frayne Šulgi 32).

[9] See Buccellati (1966 no. 20 i 12'–21'), *ŠA* 71, Steinkeller (1982:261 n. 7), von Soden (1989:353). Although it is not easy to know whether Elamite was the language of Marhaši, it is at least clear that this toponym was in Iran; see Steinkeller (1982).

[10] See Ulshöfer (2000) and Heltzer (2000). One of the few general overviews of interpretation and translation in Mesopotamia is a confusing section, often based on third-hand knowledge of the evidence, in an otherwise interesting history of translation in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Vermeer (1992:43–64).

[11] Starke (1993). See also Gelb (1968:100–102), Lambert (1987:410), von Soden (1989:351–57). A less sophisticated approach, which is in agreement nonetheless with Starke's theory, can be found in Vermeer (1992:58–59); in this matter, Vermeer follows what Deller reportedly said in a lecture delivered at Heidelberg in 1986. On other possible etymologies for Hittite *tarkummai-*, see Tischler (1993:180–82).

spite of this alleged Hittite etymon, a possible Semitic etymology both
for the Akkadian and the Hittite words cannot be discarded: the
verb *ragāmu* ("to shout, call, summon"). Gelb argued that a possible
Semitic origin for Akkadian *targumannu* was based on a weak seman-
tic link. However, the basic function of the dragoman in the Semitic
world is precisely to read aloud and translate (as in Hebrew *qārā*),
a phenomenon reflected in the origin of the Targumim.[12]

### The Death of Sumerian

The corpus of Sumerian literature abounds in pronouncements con-
cerning the importance of Sumerian for scribes. A Sumerian proverb
states this in clear terms:[13]

> dub-sar eme-gir$_{15}$ nu-un-zu-a a-na-am$_3$ dub-sar e-ne
> A scribe who does not know Sumerian, what kind of scribe is he?
> (SP 2:47)

Nonetheless, Sumerian had died out at the end of the 3rd millennium,
when it stopped being anyone's mother tongue.[14] Although some
Assyriologists still try to resurrect Sumerian and argue that it was a
true living language after Ur III, this is completely at odds with the
evidence. One can see this even in the bleaching or dilution of the
term for the Sumerian language (eme-gir$_{15}$, eme-gi), which by Ur III
is used to denote simply "native, domestic, autochthonous," as a syn-
onym of ki-en-gi, and is applied to animals (udu eme-gi for a native
breed of sheep).[15]

In the two passages of Šulgi hymns B and C studied above, the
languages mentioned are Sumerian, Amorite, Elamite, "Subartean"
(probably Hurrian), and the language of Meluhha. Akkadian does
not appear explicitly mentioned in the list of Šulgi's languages. One
does not normally boast about knowing one's own mother tongue.
However, Sumerian does appear listed and, thus, it is unlikely that

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[12] See Rubio (1999:11) and Heltzer (2000:238–39).
[13] See Alster (1997: vol. 1, 54). For similar passages, see Sjöberg (1993:1); Volk
(1996:199–200); George (2005:127–29).
[14] See Gelb (1960), Kraus (1970:89–93), Cooper (1973), and Michalowski (1987:60;
2000).
[15] See Steinkeller (1995:51, 64).

Sumerian was Šulgi's native language. Moreover, Šulgi is said to have attended the e$_2$-dub-ba, one of whose main purposes was instruction in Sumerian (Šulgi B 13–14):[16]

> tur-ra-mu-de$_3$ e$_2$-dub-ba-a-a-am$_3$
> dub ki-en-gi ki-uri-ka nam-dub-sar-ra mi-ni-zu

> Since I was little, I was in school.
> I learned the scribal art on the tablets of Sumer and Akkad.

After Ur III, the death of Sumerian as a spoken language is implicit in many scholarly contexts. For instance, a Sumerian dialogue set in the school milieu (the e$_2$-dub-ba), which is preserved in at least fourteen different Old Babylonian copies from Nippur and is now known as *Edubba D*, begins with an exchange that could only take place after Sumerian had been already dead for a while:[17]

> lu$_2$-tur [dumu e$_2$-dub-ba-(a)-me-en dumu] ⌜e$_2$⌝-[dub-ba-me-en]
> tukum-bi dumu e$_2$-dub-ba-[(a)-me-en]
> [eme]-gir$_{15}$ e-zu-u$_3$-a[m$_3$]
> [eme]-gir$_{15}$-ta inim e-da-bal-e-en

> Young man, are you a student?—Yes, I am a student.
> If you are a student,
> Do you know Sumerian?
> Yes, I can speak Sumerian.

Sumerian was most likely used in scribal circles and probably spoken among teachers and scribes, as was the case of Latin in some academic and clerical circles well into the 20th century and the case of Sanskrit in India.[18] Translation was frequently involved in the act of reading a Sumerian text in Akkadian, as a proverb seems to indicate:[19]

> dub-sar eme-gir$_{15}$ nu-un-zu-a inim-bala-e me-da he$_2$-en-tum$_3$
> If the scribe does not know Sumerian, how will the translator succeed? (SP 2.49)

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[16] On Sumerian and the Old Babylonian e$_2$-dub-ba, see Vanstiphout (1979; 1995:5–6)

[17] For the edition and study of this composition, see Civil (1985)—on the restoration of the first lines and the translation of the verb inim—bal in this text, see Civil (1985:73). Based on the context, one needs to distinguish between eme—bal ("to translate, to serve as an interpreter") and inim—bal ("to speak, to converse").

[18] On Sumerian spoken in the e$_2$-dub-ba, see Charpin (1994). See also Volk (2000).

[19] See Alster (1997/1:54).

The survival of Sumerian within the scribal realm long after its death should not be particularly surprising.[20] Throughout Mesopotamian history, in addition to painstakingly learning a language that had long since died (Sumerian), scribes had to use an artificial and conservative variant of their native language (an Akkadian dialect). For the most part, the late Akkadian dialects (Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Late-Babylonian) were not true spoken languages, but rather manufactured attempts to preserve a linguistic relic, from which all spoken dialects had departed long ago.[21]

It is only fitting to dedicate this note on Šulgi's language competence and the death of Sumerian to Herman Vanstiphout, who has taught us so much about Sumerian literature and learning. One can only repeat here the wishes put in the mouth of Šulgi himself (Šulgi B 314–15):

e$_2$-dub-ba-a da-ri$_2$ ur$_5$ nu-kur$_2$-ru-dam
ki-umun$_2$ da-ri$_2$ ur$_5$ nu-silig-ge-dam

The schools shall never be changed.
The places of learning shall never cease to exist.

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[20] The survival of Sumerian anthroponyms, along with the appearance of newly formed ones based on preexisting Sumerian anthroponymic elements, bears no significance for the death (or possible survival) of Sumerian. See Gelb (1962), Kraus (1970:17–19), Cooper (1973), Heimpel (1974–77), and Tanret (1996).

[21] See Leichty (1993:27) and Rubio (2006: 48–49). Even in the case of Neo-Assyrian, the fluctuation in the spelling of final short vowels and case endings points to the agonizing status of certain grammatical features in the linguistic competence of the scribes. See also Rubio (2002:240–41).

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# HOW DID THEY LEARN CUNEIFORM?
## *TRIBUTE/WORD LIST C* AS AN ELEMENTARY EXERCISE

### Niek Veldhuis

H. Vanstiphout's question "How Did they Learn Sumerian?" (Vansti-
phout 1979) has provoked a long series of studies by a variety of
scholars improving our understanding of the role of literary and lex-
ical compositions in Old Babylonian education. This contribution
will concentrate on a composition first attested in archaic Uruk and
variously labeled as *Tribute List*, or *Sumerian Word List C*.[1] I will argue
that this is an exercise designed for beginning students in order to
tackle the new technique of writing. This analysis, which aims to throw
new light on archaic lexical and educational texts, is dedicated to
Stip, my teacher and friend, from whom I learned Sumerian.

### *Introduction: Previous Interpretations*

In the late Uruk period, around 3,200 BCE, writing was invented as
an administrative tool in order to help managing the increasing com-
plexity of institutional transactions.[2] The archaic text corpus consists
of accounting texts and lists of words (lexical lists) for use in scribal
education. Our understanding of the archaic corpus, both the admin-
istrative texts and the lexical lists, has made enormous progress
through the publications of the Berlin team, in particular Hans Nissen
and Bob Englund, in the series *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* and in numer-
ous other contributions. An in-depth analysis of the evidence appeared
in Englund 1998.

   Within the archaic lexical tradition *Sumerian Word List C* occupies
a special place, because it exhibits textual features that are otherwise
unattested in this corpus. First, it contains a section with quantitative

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[1] Despite my own misgivings (see below), this is the label I will use here.
[2] Hans Nissen has recently argued that societal complexity is not a sufficient
explanation for the introduction and use of writing, and that there are many other
ways to store information—instead or alongside of writing (Nissen 2004).

items such as "10 cows" or "1 bull." Throughout the Mesopotamian written tradition such items are a give-away characteristic of administrative texts, not to be found in lexical tablets. Second, *Sumerian Word List C* has a long section that is repeated line by line, word for word. Repetitions are well known in literary texts, but not in lexical compositions. Finally, the last ten lines of *Sumerian Word List C* are identical with the first ten lines of another archaic composition, usually labeled as "Plant." In short, on first glance, *Sumerian Word List C* does not qualify as a typical lexical list. The main reason why the composition is usually included in the category of lexical lists is that its transmission history is identical with that of the more typical members of the group: it is found in multiple exemplars in the archaic record and was copied, albeit with slight modifications, all through the third millennium and even into the Old Babylonian period.

The unusual characteristics of *Word List C* have led to a variety of interpretations, reading the text as a tribute list, as a literary piece, or as the earliest example of esoteric knowledge. Before looking in more detail at the text itself I will briefly discuss each of these interpretations.

*Sumerian  Word  List  C*

This title, introduced by Pettinato in his edition of the text in *MEE* 3, is used in the present contribution as a neutral description that does not anticipate any decision concerning the actual contents of the composition. However, neutrality is hard to achieve and the designation "Word List" seems to be out of place since, as we have seen above, the text lacks all of the main characteristics of the early lexical corpus. *Word List C* is not a lexical list of words on a par with the list of professions (*Lu A*) or the list *Metals*. It should be noted, however, that there are other non-thematic early lexical texts and some of them may share features with *Word List C*: the list *Plants* (which contains many plant names, but also includes sections on time indications and other topics) and the list *Grain*, which lists a variety of foodstuffs but also includes a section on numbers.[3]

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[3] On *Plants* and *Grain*, see Englund (1998:95 and 98 with further literature). Both texts are badly represented in the archaic record so that most of our understanding of these compositions derives from third millennium parallels.

*Tribute*

The title *Tribute* was introduced by the Berlin team (M. Green, H. Nissen, and R. Englund) in their publications on the archaic sign list (Green and Nissen 1987) and on the archaic lexical lists (Englund and Nissen 1993). The title is based primarily on the word $gu_2$ or $gun_2$ (tax), which appears at two places in the text in what may be understood as explanatory interpolations, since both lines are absent in the archaic version.

The word $gu_2$ occurs in the final section of the text in the ED and OB versions in a well-known expression (šag$_4$ $gu_2$-bi nam-gi$_4$) that has nothing to do with taxes, but means "rising of the flood."[4] The other passage where the word $gu_2$ appears is found only in the Old Babylonian version, where it comes after the long list of animals and commodities (O.B. version lines 32a and 58a):[5]

šag$_4$ nam-$gu_2$ šum$_2$

Sumerian nam-$gu_2$ means "oppression," or "wrongdoing" rather than "tribute." In third millennium legal context nam-$gu_2$-še$_3$ . . . ak refers to wrongful appropriation, in particular of inheritance. The expression usually follows a list of commodities and identifies the agent of the sentence as the wrongdoer (with the victim in the dative).[6] Whether this has anything to do with our line remains uncertain, but the fact that it is found at the end of a list of commodities is suggestive.

The interpretation of the two lines that contain the sign GU$_2$ as referring to tribute, therefore, has to be rejected in one case (in the expression šag$_4$ $gu_2$-bi nam-gi$_4$) and lacks sufficient supporting evidence in the other. Moreover, both passages are missing from the Archaic text, so that they may explain to us the way in which ED and OB scribes understood this text—but we cannot be certain that this accurately reflects the original contents and function of the composition.

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[4] See the discussion of line 76 in the ED version below section 3.3 and Englund (1998:99 with n. 222).
[5] These lines appear in the unpublished fragment Ni 1597 and are quoted in Englund and Nissen (1993:25).
[6] References in Wilcke (2003:44 n. 107).

*Literature*

The idea that *Sumerian Word List C* may represent the earliest piece of literature was put forward in detail by Englund (1998:99) and is based first of all on the wholesale repetition of a considerable portion of the text. This, indeed, is an important characteristic of narrative and hymnic texts. In narrative, repetition may be used to relate a dream, followed by the dream come true (e.g. *The Death of Gilgameš*), or to give instructions to a messenger, followed by the messenger actually delivering his message (e.g. *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*).[7] In certain types of hymns refrains are repeated at more or less regular intervals, as in *Šulgi B*. In the present case the repeated section is a list of animals and commodities, and this is neither a hymnic refrain nor an example of narrative repetition.

Another piece of evidence that has been adduced to support the literary interpretation is the appearance, in some sources, of the sign UD in the first and second line of the archaic version. This may be understood as a temporal indication—"when"—which is very common in introductions to Sumerian literary texts. However, such use of the sign UD is not otherwise known in the archaic record, and later versions of the composition omit this element.

Short of actually understanding the contents of the text, and no one has claimed to have achieved this, it is hard to support the literature theory. The main problem with this hypothesis, however, is that it is completely out of context. Archaic writing was a semiotic system that represented transactions and prognostications rather than language. This system existed alongside of language and borrowed elements (in particular nouns and names) from this language, but did not represent it anymore than old-fashioned DOS commands such as dir /p (directory, one screen at a time) represent English. The syntax of this system is largely provided by tablet layout rather than by linguistic means (Green 1981). The raw material of literature is language—patterned or heightened language. Nothing in the archaic record prepares us for expecting literature—except that we, modern readers, easily associate writing with a story, or at least with connected text. For the time being, therefore, the narrative hypothesis has to be laid aside as improbable.

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[7]  Vanstiphout (1992).

*Secret Lore*

Finally we have to discuss Joan Westenholz's interpretation of our composition as secret lore (Westenholz 1998). This proposal is based, first, on her understanding of the introduction (lines 1–2), which she tentatively translates as "(When) counsel (was) first given, (when) the abrig (. . .) sage brought the secret lore. . . ." Second, Westenholz bases her interpretation on an explanation of the entire archaic lexical corpus as a representation of the divine order. The lexical lists, according to Westenholz, are far too extensive, and contain far too many words to be explained by the needs of scribal education. The great majority of the words in the archaic lexical series in fact never appears in administrative documents. The word lists, according to Westenholz, give a complete inventory of all the words in a given area of reality; ultimately they are theological or cosmological in nature, since they provide every element of reality with its own name. The name of a thing represents its nature, and thus the lexical texts, by providing a complete list of names for everything not only represent the proper order of the world, but also make it possible to affect the world by magical means (Westenholz 1998:453).

Westenholz's hypothesis suffers from the same weakness as the literature theory: the character of the archaic writing system seems ill suited for recording secret lore. The idea that the lists are theological in nature and describe the order of the world goes back at least to Von Soden's famous "Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft," (Von Soden 1936). Although Oppenheim (1977:248) protested against "such a quasi-mythological concept as *Ordnungswille*" (according to Von Soden a defining element of the Sumerian mentality), von Soden's approach continues to enjoy a broad popularity in Assyriology. I have written about Von Soden's essay elsewhere (Veldhuis 2004:81–2), and I will restrict myself here to the interpretation of the archaic lexical texts—a group of texts that he had hardly access to. A brief analysis of the archaic corpus will demonstrate that a cosmological interpretation is untenable.

*The Archaic Lexical Corpus*

*Overview*

The archaic lexical corpus (Englund and Nissen 1993) includes thirteen compositions that are attested in multiple copies, most of which still are also attested in the Early Dynastic period and even as late as Old Babylonian.[8]

| Title | Number of Exemplars |
| --- | --- |
| *Lu A* (professions) | 185 |
| *Vessels* (and *Garments*) | 91 |
| *Tribute* (*Sumerian Word List C*) | 56 |
| *Metal* | 55 |
| *Cattle* | 24 |
| *Officials* | 23 |
| *Fish* | 22 |
| *Wood* | 30 |
| *Cities* | 17 |
| *Geography* | 12 |
| *Grain* (*Sumerian Word List D*) | 9 |
| *Birds* | 6 |
| *Plants* | 5 |

In addition, there are quite a few archaic tablets and fragments that are of a similar nature but do not belong to a standardized composition and may represent ad-hoc exercises.

The table shows that the distribution is very uneven: *Lu A* (a list of professions) is by far the most frequent; the text that interests us here comes in as a good third. The archaic lexical corpus is sometimes described as a coherent corpus of thematic word lists, but the facts are a little more complicated. The lists *Lu A, Metal, Fish, Wood, Cities*, and *Birds* are proper thematic lists that may provide a complete inventory of the semantic field at hand. The *Officials* text includes personal names as well as names of professions, and may be understood

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[8] The numbers and the labels are taken from Englund (1998:88); see also Englund and Nissen (1993:12). The numbers require some adjustment because of the discovery of several additional exemplars, but since these new copies do not change the overall picture, they have been ignored here. Not included in the overview is the list *Pigs*, because the two extant copies do not reflect a standardized text (see Englund 1998:94 with earlier literature).

as a thematic list only in a weak sense (indications of persons). The list *Vessels* and *Garments* includes a section that seems to play with the basic idea of a compound sign—a sign inscribed within another sign—and is therefore organized, in this section at least, by graphemic rather than by semantic criteria (Krispijn 1992). The list Cattle has a standard set of twenty-four attributes that qualify four different words for bovines, so that the density of information is much lower here than in most other lists. Several compositions, including *Word List C, Grain*, and *Plants*, despite their conventional labels, have hardly any thematic organization at all.

The archaic lists were used as instruments to teach the newly invented accounting system, yet their contents suggest that they are also something else. The most frequent list, the list of professions *Lu A*, contains about 140 entries, very few of which are ever encountered in contemporary accounts. The same holds true for the other lists. The numerous complex signs in *Vessels*, consisting of the sign for container inscribed with the sign for some commodity, are rarely, if ever, attested outside of the lexical corpus. In other words, the lexical corpus contains many words and signs that seem superfluous and cannot be explained by the immediate necessities of education.[9]

The cosmological or theological interpretation of this apparent lack of fit between the lexical and the administrative corpus is untenable because, as one may see in the list above, many essential elements of any cosmology are missing, such as gods, stars, rivers, mountains, and wild animals. At the same time, a list of vessels and garments—including many apparently newly created signs—seems oddly out of place in a theological corpus.

It is necessary, therefore, to find another way of explaining the incongruous relationship between the thematic lists and the administrative texts. To do so, we have to look in more detail at the surviving records.

*Nouns, Numbers, and Days*

In his overview of the archaic text corpus Bob Englund (1998) identified five administrative "offices:" fisheries; domesticated animals and animal products; labor organization; grain and grain products;

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[9] It should be noted, though, that such incongruence between teaching tools and actual writing practice is a constant throughout the history of cuneiform education.

and fields. Each of these "offices" deals with a specific set of goods and uses characteristic numerical systems. Fishermen not only deliver fish, but also other marsh products, including wild boar and birds. The animals office deals with the accounting of sheep, goats, cows, and pigs, but also with milk and textiles. The grain office is responsible for beer production. A smaller group of administrative texts deals with metal objects (see W 13946,a; W 13946,b; W 13946,d; W 13946,n; and several other texts in the W 13946 group; W 14265).

In addition to such commodities, the archaic accounts include references to persons, times, and places. There is a rough match between the types of words needed in the accounts and those listed in the lexical corpus:

| Subject | Lexical Text (Conventional Label) |
| --- | --- |
| numbers | "grain" (*Word List D*) |
| grain and grain products | "grain" (*Word List D*) |
| fish | fish |
| birds | birds |
| domestic animals | animals |
| wood and wood products | wood |
| dairy products | vessels |
| containers | vessels |
| textiles | vessels |
| metals | metals |
| persons | *Lu A*; officials |
| place names | cities |
| time indications | "plant" |

The match is not exact. The archaic corpus uses many different kinds of number systems; almost none of those appear in the lexical corpus. Personal names and the names of gods do not appear in the lexical texts, although a small number of personal names may appear in the *Officials* list. There are two exemplars of a *Swine* list, but they are not duplicates of each other, and therefore it appears that there is no standardized lexical composition concerning this subject. Nevertheless, the correspondence is close, even the more so when one considers the negative evidence. Wild animals, stars, and rivers are of little use in this administrative system and they are absent from the lexical texts. These compositions do contain many words and signs that are not otherwise attested, but the categories of words represented match the administrative corpus very well.

*The Urge to be Complete*

The archaic lexical lists seem to display a drive to be complete, to include every possible item in a certain category—even if it was entirely useless within the administrative system of the time. Rather than postulating a specific Sumerian character trait or mentality, we may explain the appearance of the archaic corpus in more practical terms. Creating a true *system* cannot be done bit by bit—the whole needs to be functional from the start and therefore it must be able to accommodate all possibilities.[10] Writing is an excellent example. An alphabetic system cannot be developed letter by letter; the idea becomes useful only once the whole set of characters is in place. The same holds true for an administrative system. A bookkeeping software package that can perform all but one of the basic bookkeeping functions is entirely useless. Those who designed the archaic bookkeeping system went for even the remotest possibilities. All these officials that never took charge of deliveries were still listed in *Lu A*—because once upon a time they might. The drive to be complete, therefore, has a very practical background in the need to design something entirely new. We may again invoke the parallel with a software package here. Most of us only use a few pages of any software manual—the great majority of the options are obscure and very rarely used. The manual, however, must be complete, and by necessity lists them all.

At the same time, the people who created the archaic lists may well have enjoyed the idea of inventing signs for as many birds or fish as they could think of. In other words, there is an intellectual and speculative background to the archaic lexical lists, although the intellectual effort builds on the needs of an administrative system, not on theology. It has been convincingly argued that *Lu A* represents a full inventory of the administrative hierarchy of Uruk, with the highest official heading the list (most recently Englund 1998:103–6). Apart from an administrative and intellectual relevance *Lu A* may thus also have an ideological background, and this may well account for the extraordinary number of copies found. The lexical texts, therefore, push the limits of this new administrative technique, accommodating for intellectual and ideological contents at least in some marginal way. To realize the full potential of intellectual and ideological uses

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[10] That the archaic writing system was created *ab ovo* as a system (rather than being a gradual development from something else) has been argued for some time by Michalowski; see in particular Michalowski (1994).

of writing, however, the cuneiform system needed the ability to represent language—a development that took several centuries to materialize.

<center>*Sumerian* Word List C</center>

We may now take a closer look at *Word List C* and try to understand how this composition fits in the world of archaic writing. Based on formal criteria, the text may be divided into three sections of unequal length. The first consists of a short and enigmatic introduction of just two lines, which was expanded to four in later versions. The middle section is formed by a long passage which lists quantities of animals, food items, and other commodities; this passage is repeated in its entirety, word for word, and sign for sign. The third section, finally, is another long passage that may contain words and expressions that refer to raw materials and to work on the land. Admittedly, this last section contains many items that are unintelligible, and may therefore include other themes as well.

### *The  Introduction*

The introduction may well provide explicit clues to the meaning and function of the composition, but it is frustratingly laconic and opaque. In the archaic version the introduction takes only two lines, and there is some variation among the sources (W15895, bb):

> SAĜ KI$_a$ AD$_a$
> HAL ABRIG AD$_a$

Several sources add UD in one or in both lines. Some scholars have ventured the hypothesis that UD introduces "when" clauses (see sections 1.3 and 1.4), but we lack the parallels in the archaic corpus to support such an interpretation. The word abrig is known from lists of professions and is used in later Sumerian for a purification priest. The ED version is only slightly better comprehensible:

> ad-gi$_4$
> ki-saĝ
> ad-hal
> abrig

The word ad-gi$_4$ means "counsel;" ad-hal = "secret," and ki-saĝ may stand for saĝ-ki = "rites." Unfortunately, none of our sources places these words in a meaningful sentence, and we have no checks to confirm that these isolated words indeed meant in the archaic period what they meant more than a thousand years later. Joan Westenholz's translation of these lines (see above 1.4) may be right or not—we simply cannot say.

*The List of Commodities*

The introduction is followed by a list of animals, fish, herbs, eggs and other commodities, with indications of quantities (lines 3–26, or 5–28 in the post-archaic versions). Where understandable, the entries are directly related to food and food producing animals. Many of the items are relatively well understood, because the words appear in other archaic contexts as well. Here is a brief passage:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 18 | 10 ga$_b$ | 10 units of milk |
| 19 | 10 gara$_{2a}$ | 10 units of cream |
| 20 | 10 ab$_2$ | 10 cows |
| 21 | 1 gud | 1 bull |
| 22 | 10 u$_8$ | 10 ewes |
| 23 | 1 utua$_b$ | 1 ram |

The list of commodities is followed by four lines that may be interpreted as names of professions:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 27 | kuš$_7$(IŠ$_b$) | steward |
| 28 | nar | singer |
| 29 | UB ŠAG$_{4a1}$ | barber? |
| 30 | ĝar | ? |

The interpretation and reading of these lines remains provisional and is based on the comparison with later versions (ED):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 29 | kuš$_7$ | steward |
| 30 | nar | singer |
| 31 | ĝar | ? |
| 32 | kinda$_2$ SAHAR šag$_4$ | barber, . . . . |

In at least one of the archaic sources (W 20266,117) the last two lines are inverted, as they are in the ED sources, and at least two archaic sources have line 29 as ŠAG$_{4a1}$ URI, where URI is identical to kinda$_2$ in the ED version. The ED entry may be compared to

ED Lu$_2$ B (= SF 70) 30: kinda$_2$ SAHAR ĜAR. In the Old Babylonian version šag$_4$ (archaic 29/ED 32) is expanded to šag$_4$ nam-gu$_2$ šum$_2$ (32a).[11] This line, which may function as a kind of subscript and may contain some indication of how Old Babylonian scribes interpreted the text, is unfortunately unclear (see the discussion above §1.2).

The list of commodities and officials(?) is repeated line by line (31–58). The Old Babylonian version has again the additional line šag$_4$ nam-gu$_2$ šum$_2$ (60a).

*The Final Section*

The final section consists of some thirty lines; many of these lines seem to refer to plants or other agrarian products, but there are no numbers—except, perhaps, for šar$_2$ (1 N$_{45}$) in 59–60:

59    šar$_2$ ki$_a$
60    šar$_2$ ki$_a$ ki$_a$

Lines 61–66 may contain words for raw materials, including wood, plum (šennur), reed, and rushes(?), followed by the name of a temple or administrative center (e$_2$ piriĝ ug$_x$(EZEN)-ga "house of the exalted lion;" this interpretation is again based on ED and O.B. versions).[12] In 68–94 (end of text) the later versions suggest that this section deals with work in fields, ditches, etc., as the following passage may show (ED version 74–80; Archaic version 72–76):

|   | ED |   | Archaic |
|---|---|---|---|
| 74 | al-tar | 72 | gi al [. . .] |
| 75 | al-tar gana$_2$ |  |  |
| 76 | šag$_4$ gu$_2$ gi$_4$ | ø |  |
| 77 | pa$_5$ | 73 | A |
| 78 | pa$_5$ lum$_x$(ZU&ZU.SAR)[13] | 74 | A SAR ⌜ĜIŠ?⌝[. . .] |
| 79 | ĝiš | 75 | ĝiš |
| 80 | $^{ĝiš}$apin sur$_x$(EREN$_2$)[14] | 76 | apin sur$_x$(EREN$_2$) |

[11] The line appears in Ni 1597 (joins *SLT* 42), quoted in Englund and Nissen (1993:25 with n. 49).

[12] This reading is indicated by the Schøyen text, which reads e$_2$ piriĝ u$_9$(EZENxAN) confirming the Old Babylonian e$_2$ piriĝ u. Both Fara sources read e$_2$ piriĝ EZEN-ga. For ED ug$_5$ = exalted see Cohen (1976).

[13] For lum$_x$($^{ZU}_{ZU}$·SAR) see Krebernik (1998:275).

[14] For this reading of EREN$_2$ see Steinkeller (1990).

The passage includes words about hoeing (ED 74–75), ditches (ED 77–78) and plow teams (ED 80). Line ED 76, which has no parallel in the archaic version, may refer to a time of the year—spring floods—when work on the ditches was to be performed.[15]

The final ten lines are duplicated by the first ten lines of the ED version of the *Plants* list (*SF* 58 and parallels, not preserved in archaic duplicates). The connection between *Word List C* and the *Plants* list is perhaps confirmed by the fact that one archaic tablet contained both (W 20266, 44), but other examples of such combinations are known.[16] The penultimate line of the archaic version (93) may be read sanga$_2$ sar.[17] In the Early Dynastic version, which in this section differs in quite some details from the archaic text, this becomes the final line (97). The verb sar is used in colophons in texts from Fāra and Abu Salabikh for "to write" (see Biggs 1974:33–35 and Krebernik 1998:325–33) and this may well be how Early Dynastic scribes interpreted this final line ("written by the purification priest"). It is unlikely, however, that this is the actual meaning of the archaic text. First, sar is not known in this function in archaic documents. Second, BAD SUG (Archaic 91) and sar sanga$_2$ (Archaic 93) are known from the "Figure aux Plumes" in what seems to be a list of field names (see Gelb et al. 1991:67),[18] and this may be a likely interpretation for the final section of our text as well.

*An Elementary Exercise*

The difference between the thematic archaic lexical lists and *Word List C* is not only found in formal characteristics, such as the use of numbers and the repetition of a passage, but also, and more importantly, in the relevance of this exercise for writing actual administrative records. Where texts such as *Lu A* and *Fish* may be compared to the exhaustive manuals of a software package that document every obscure feature of the program, *Word List C* is more like a quick reference guide, concentrating on frequently used elements of the

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[15] For the expression šag$_4$ gu$_2$ gi$_4$, "flood," a common metaphor for abundance, see most recently Steinkeller (2004a:143).

[16] For instance W 11986,a which contains *Lu A* and *Metals*.

[17] The ED versions have sanga$_2$ (LAK175) sar. For LAK 175 = sanga$_2$ see Krebernik (1998:283), with earlier literature. For the archaic sign ("ŠAGAN") and its reading see Steinkeller (1995:708–9).

[18] See also Wilcke (1995).

system such as animals, numbers, foodstuff, and the terminology for work in the fields. It is instructive to look at the numbers in *Word List C*, which appear exclusively in the repeated section, the list of commodities.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3  | 5 LAGABxNAGA | 5 units of salt(?) |
| 4  | 5 gazi | 5 units of mustard |
| 5  | 5 LAGABxNE.E$_2$ | 5 units of ? |
| 6  | 5 uz$_a$ | 5 ducks |
| 7  | 5 maš si$_{4a}$ | 5 ? |
| 8  | 10 TU | 10 TU animals[19] |
| 9  | 10 gukkal | 10 *gukkal* sheep |
| 10 | 1 KAL$_a$ ab$_2$ | 1 milk(?) cow[20] |
| 11 | 1 amar ga$_b$ | 1 suckling calf |
| 12 | 10 SUHUR | 10 ? |
| 13 | 10 KAR$_{2a}$ | 10 ? |
| 14 | 3 KAD$_{4b}$ | 3 ? |
| 15 | 3 ZATU612 | 3 units of cereal dish[21] |
| 16 | 4 an-ĝir$_{2a}$ | 4 metal knives(?) |
| 17 | 10 anše da | 10 . . . donkeys[22] |
| 18 | 10 ga$_b$ | 10 units of milk |
| 19 | 10 gara$_{2a}$ | 10 units of cream |
| 20 | 10 ab$_2$ | 10 cows |
| 21 | 1 gud | 1 bull |
| 22 | 10 u$_8$ | 10 ewes |
| 23 | 1 utua$_b$ | 1 ram |
| 24 | 10 ud$_{5a}$ | 10 goats |
| 25 | 1 maš$_2$ | 1 billy goat |
| 26 | 61 mušen nunuz$^?$-a[23] | 61 eggs? |

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[19] TU is a domestic animal, not a dove. See *Sumerian Word List D* (*MEE* 3 172–3), line 61 and 84 where TU appears immediately before gukkal, as is the case here.

[20] The interpretation is based on the OB parallel which has ab$_2$ ga gu$_7$-eš (see Green and Nissen 1987:228).

[21] The ED texts read LAK 384, (to be read uz$_x$?), which indicates some food product, perhaps a dish of cereal products (see Civil 1983 for an extensive discussion of this sign).

[22] For the identification of the sign (*ZATU* 297) as ANŠE (instead of KIŠ) see Steinkeller (2004b:179). The Old Babylonian text has ⌜x⌝ da-ri-a.

[23] The sign read nunuz here was read BALA$_a$ in *ATU* 3. In W 21208, 2 (Plate 51) the sign is a true BALA; in W 20266,66 (Plate 50) it may well be NUNUZ, in other sources the sign is broken (for archaic NUNUZ see Steinkeller (1995:706–7).

While much is uncertain or speculative here, this list will do very well to engrain the correct writing of the basic numbers 1, 10, and 60 and their differences and given the importance of that skill it makes a lot of sense to repeat the whole passage. *Word List C* allowed the student to combine numbers with nouns in what appear to be realistic example entries. Most interesting is the last item in the passage quoted above, which perhaps means "61 eggs." Later versions of the text have 71 nuz kad₄$^{mušen}$ "71 eggs of the kad₄ bird" (an unidentified bird).[24] In cuneiform, the significance of the number 71 is immediately clear: it is the combination of the three most basic number signs in the sexagesimal system: $60 + 10 + 1$. The archaic text reads 61, combining only two such signs—one variant exemplar (W 21208, 2), however, sides with the later versions and has the number 71. The number was chosen for its instructional value.

The archaic writing system is an administrative tool, and therefore, numbers and number writing are crucial for anyone who needs to learn how to use it. Archaic metrology is very complex, using five basic systems and several derived ones. In spite of their complexity and importance, numbers are not treated to any large extent in the archaic lexical corpus. The *Word Lists C* and *D* (*Grain*) pay some attention to numbers, but this stands in no relation to the significance of number writing in archaic record keeping. To some extent this may be explained by the very importance and ubiquity of numbers. The metrological systems that seem so complicated to the modern observer presumably were in common use and familiar to everybody—even those outside the circles of scribal specialists. Numbers are not difficult to draw, they are rather straightforward in design, and their proper use was easier to learn through accounting exercises (several of which have been identified) than through lists (see further Englund 1998:106–10).

In contrast to the thematic lists, *Word List C* is an exercise that remains relatively close to the practice of archaic writing. Among the frequently attested lists (*Lu A, Vessels, Word List C, Metal*) it is no doubt the one with the most practical relevance. Far from being literature or secret lore, *Word List C* is an exercise in elementary administrative skills.

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[24] See Veldhuis (2004:241–2).

## *The Later History of* Word List C

*Word List C* became part of the main stream of the lexical tradition in the third millennium and was still known in Ur III and Old Babylonian Nippur. Copies of the list have been found in the Mesopotamian heartland (Fara, Abu Salabikh) as well as in Syria (Ebla) in ED times. Interpolations in the text may reflect the attempts of the scribes to make sense of a composition that must have been rather opaque to them.

The single extant Old Babylonian copy is written on a small six-sided prism, identical in size and shape to a contemporary prism that contained *ED Lu A*.[25] The two no doubt belong together, and may have been the proud possession of a Nippur scholar. Lexical texts in Nippur first of all served scribal education, witnessed by the thousands of lexical exercise tablets. These two prisms, however, are hardly school texts. They are more likely written by an accomplished scribe who copied these enigmatic texts to appropriate part of an ancient tradition, a chain of knowledge that went back all the way to the invention of writing.

Without changing much in its actual wording *Word List C* came a long way from an elementary exercise in the archaic period to a piece of venerated traditional knowledge in the Old Babylonian period. While this is a remarkable career, it is by no means exceptional. In the history of cuneiform several lists that were originally designed as primers became bearers of venerable or speculative knowledge. A first example is *Syllable Alphabet A*, an elementary exercise which probably goes back to the Ur III period,[26] and which consists of basically meaningless syllable combinations. It is one of the very few exercise texts that was rigidly standardized in all Old Babylonian scribal centers. In the Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian period it was provided with speculative translations in Akkadian—apparently inspired by its enigmatic contents (see Farber-Flügge 1999). Second, *Sᵃ*—an elementary sign list used in the Sippar area in the Old Babylonian period (see Tanret 2002)—was used later on to organize a variety

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[25] For a photograph of both prisms side by side see Veldhuis (2004:92 and pl. 35). Both prisms are broken; the pieces ended up in Philadelphia and Istanbul. The *ED Lu A* piece is CBS 7845 (*SLT* 113) + Ni 1600 + Ni 2528 (see Veldhuis and Hilprecht 2003–2004).
[26] A probable Ur III exemplar is *MVN* 6 4 (transliteration only).

of scholarly data, including the mysterious lists that link a sign with a number (Pearce 1996). Again, the erstwhile elementary school books have turned into the speculative tools of a scholar.

Archaic cuneiform was not a tool for writing poetry or narrative. It was an administrative tool with extraordinary flexibility—the potential of which went far beyond the wildest imagination of its inventors.

# APPENDIX

*Sources*

The archaic sources of Sumerian Word List C are all published and edited in Englund and Nissen (1993:112–20).[27] The Early Dynastic and later sources known by the time were edited by Pettinato in *MEE* 3 (1981), 155–165. More recent lists of sources appeared in Englund and Nissen (1993:25 note 49) and Krebernik (1998:338, under *SF* 12). A newly identified source is MS 2462 (Schøyen collection); for convenience a full list, excluding the archaic sources, follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ED III | Fara | *SF* 12; *TSŠ* 264 + *SF* 13 |
| | Abu-Salabikh | *OIP* 99 402?; 459; 465; AbS 2545 (*Iraq* 52 Pl. XV) |
| | Ebla | *MEE* 3 47 |
| | Unknown | Schøyen MS 2462 http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/ |
| Pre-Sargonic | Unknown | *MVN* 3 15 |
| Ur III | Nippur | 6 N-T 676 (unpublished) |
| Old Babylonian | Nippur | *SLT* 42 + Ni 1597 (unpublished) |

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# DIE HYMNE AUF DAS HEILIGTUM KEŠ
## ZU STRUKTUR UND "GATTUNG" EINER ALTSUMERISCHEN DICHTUNG UND ZU IHRER LITERATURTHEORIE

### Claus Wilcke

Die Dichtung auf das Heiligtum Keš[1] ist eines der ganz wenigen altsumerischen Literaturwerke, die nicht nur in Fragmenten aus der Fāra-Zeit (26. Jhd. v. Chr.) sondern auch in Fassungen aus der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jt. überliefert sind. Sie ist der älteste gut verständliche sumerische Text in hymnischem Stil. Sie gehörte auch als Nr. 6 zum Korpus der ersten zehn im altbabylonischen Schulunterricht studierten Werke der Dichtkunst und damit zum Kern des Bildungsgutes dieser Zeit. Ihre Eingangsverse äußern sich klar zum Verhältnis von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit von Dichtung und weisen das Werk einem antiken Genre zu. Äußere und innere Struktur erlauben auch eine Gattungsbestimmung und eine soziale Verortung nach modernen Kriterien. Eine neue Übersetzung soll die Grundlage der Argumentation bilden. In einem auf der Ausgabe durch Gene Gragg von 1969 und seitdem veröffentlichten Quellen fußenden Komposittext versuche ich mein Textverständnis zu verdeutlichen. Dieser virtuelle, moderne Komposittext stützt sich auf den derzeitigen Erkenntnisstand und versucht keineswegs, eine "Original-" oder "Standardversion" der altbabylonischen Zeit wiederherzustellen, wenn es denn jemals eine solche gegeben hat. Er kann und soll Graggs Ausgabe nicht ersetzen und einer kritischen Neuedition nicht vorgreifen. Textkritische Erörterungen

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[1] *Ausgaben: altbabylonische Fassung*: Gragg (1969); Rezensionen von Edzard (1974), und Wilcke (1972); ferner: Wilcke (1987:85ff.: IB 1511); Geller (1996: BM 115798). *Komposittext mit Übersetzung*: Black et al. (1998–). *Fārazeitliche Fassung:* Biggs (1971); *Quellen* in: Biggs (1974); *Rekonstruktionsversuch*: Wilcke (1991:275f. mit Abbildung auf S. 283); *Übersetzung*: Jacobsen (1987:377–85); s. auch Edzard (1976–1980); Wilcke (1992:590f.; 2004). Eine Neuedition durch P. Delnero auf der Grundlage von Kollationen und eines gegenüber der Erstedition wesentlich erweiterten Quellenmaterials ist zu erhoffen. J.S. Cooper and R. Westbrook danke ich herzlich für die Einladung zu einem Seminar an der Johns Hopkins University über die Keš-Hymne (22.3.2005) und Frau Dr. Regine Schulz ebenso herzlich dafür, das 'David Prism' (Text A) am 23.3.2005 in der Walters Art Gallery kollationieren zu können. Hier notiere ich nur einige, wenige der Kollationen.

sind darum nicht angebracht. Ebenso muß eine Auseinandersetzung mit den unkommentierten Übersetzungen von Th. Jacobsen und J.A. Black (et al.) unterbleiben. Herman L.J. Vanstiphout zeigt in seinem Werk, wie sehr ihm die Theorie der Literatur, die Fragen nach "Genres" und Strukturen am Herzen liegen. Ihm seien diese Zeilen gewidmet.

*Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit nach dem Proömium der* Keš-Hymne

Die *Keš-Hymne* stellt dem eigentlich hymnischen, in knappen, wuchtigen Sätzen formulierten Haupttext ein kurzes narratives Proömium voraus. Es führt den Leser oder Zuhörer in die mythische Situation ein, in der die Hymne entstand. Denn diese Hymne ist kein Menschenwerk. Götter haben sie geschaffen und tradiert. Die narrative Grundhaltung setzt diese Vorrede deutlich vom im weiteren Verlauf durch Refrain und gezählte Vermerke ("Das *n.te* Haus ist es") gegliederten, überwiegend in lapidaren Nominalsätzen stilisierten Text ab, dessen Verbalsätze, soweit er sie gebraucht, in den Fragen des Refrains erscheinen oder in klar begrenzten Abschnitten Zustände und habituelles Geschehen beschreiben.[2]

   "Die Fürstlichkeit" hat Enlil, den höchsten Gott des überregionalen Pantheons, "für das Königtum" (nam-lugal-la Z.3) "aus dem Haus herausgebracht,"[3] also aus seinem Tempel Ekur. Das Abstraktum "Die Fürstlichkeit" ist mehrdeutig. Es kann als Kollektivum eine Gruppe von fürstlichen Gottheiten meinen oder aber Enlils Eigenschaft, ein Fürst zu sein. Dazu tritt für den Schriftkundigen eine Metaebene des Verständnisses; denn NÁM.NUN, die in den altbabylonischen Textzeugen überlieferte Zeichengruppe, ist eine UD.GAL.NUN-Schreibung für den Namen Enlil.[4] Auch wenn gerade die alte Fassung

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[2] Abgesehen von den Fragen des Refrains; einschließlich der a-Zeilen (s.u. "2. Äußere Struktur"); die Sonderstrophen sind, soweit erkennbar, außer in Z. 57e und 57i, durchweg nominal stilisiert:

| Strophen: | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verse nominal: | 5 | 21 | 10 | 3 (67–69) | 2 (74–75) | 13 | 4 (103–106) | 2 (130–131) |
| Verse verbal: | – | – | – | 8 (58–66) | 7 (76–82) | – | 16 (107–121) | 4 (126–129) |

In der fārazeitlichen Version (s.u.) sind also die ersten vier Stophen rein nominal stiliert.

[3] Veröffentlichte aB Quellen: 4 × nam-ta-ab-è; 1 × nam-tab-bé. Die Form kann m.E. nur als 3. Sg. *ḫamṭu* mit Ergativ der Sachklasse verstanden werden; nám/nam-nun-e ist der einzig mögliche und zudem deutlich markierte Ergativ; ein Demonstrativum /-e/ schließe ich darum aus.

[4] Das Gottesdeterminativ fehlt; darum ist die Möglichkeit, die altbabylonische

vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh eindeutig klar macht, daß hier das Abstraktum/ Kollektiv vorliegt, war es für einen Schreiber, besonders einen des 3. Jahrtausends, unvermeidlich, den Bezug zur UD.GAL.NUN-Orthographie herzustellen und die "Fürstlichkeit" auf die Enlil-Würde, das Amt des Götterherrschers, zu beziehen: nam-$^d$En-líl, in UD.GAL.NUN-Schreibweise vielleicht ohne Gottesdeterminativ UD als *NÁM.NÁM.NUN zu realisieren, durch Haplologie oder Haplographie dann verkürzt zu NÁM.NUN.

Auch die Worte "für das Königtum," der zweite Teil der Aussage in Z. 3, sind mehrdeutig: "damit er als König handele" oder, "zugunsten des Königtums," "um etwas für das Königtum zu tun." Eine dritte Möglichkeit ist, nam-lugal-la als regenslosen Genitiv zu verstehen: "den des Königtums" = "den Königlichen" als Epitheton Enlils. Als König handelt Enlil: er schaut herum auf alle ihn umgebenden Berge (kur), die sich vor ihm erheben—wieder doppeldeutig: Enlil ist ja lugal kur-kur-ra "König aller Länder," eigentlich "aller Bergländer," aber gemeint sind offensichtlich ebenso konkrete Berge, die sich für ihn in diesem Moment erheben (unvollendeter Aspekt zum Ausdruck von Gleichzeitigkeit). Wir stehen am Anfang der Welt; die Berge entstehen gerade, und sie sind schön, grün wie ein Baumgarten. Unter diesen Bergen sticht Keš hervor; denn es trägt eine Krone. Das kann eine Metapher sein, die den Eindruck beim Anblick des "einsam in der hohen Steppe errichteten"[5] Heiligtums wiedergibt; es ist aber auch Zeichen seiner herausragenden Rolle: Keš, das Heiligtum der hier meist Nintu genannten Ninhursaĝa, der höchsten Göttin im Pantheon und Schwester Enlils, ist durch seine Krone "königlich"—auch dies eingeschlossen in die Worte "für das Königtum" von Z. 3.

Enlils königliches Handeln ist es, das Heiligtum Keš, sobald er es erblickt, zu besingen. Dafür steht der *Terminus technicus* zà-mí du$_{11}$/e "Ein Preislied singen"[6] und kennzeichnet den Enlil in den Mund

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Graphie als Gottesnamen zu lesen, nicht wirklich gegeben. Siehe die Entsprechung in *ECTJ* 173, 8; dazu Lambert (1981) mit Verweis auf Krecher (1978); Krebernik (1984:267–86; 1998:298–302).

[5] Siehe Michalowski (1989:44f.: Z. 143; S. 83).

[6] Zu zà-mí/me du$_{11}$ siehe Attinger (1993:755–61): "za$_3$-mi$_2$ a dû signifier 'chant (de louange) exécuté au son de la lyre'" (S. 757); zuletzt ausführlich Krebernik (1994), wo er die Bedeutung "preisen" erhärtet. Darauf, daß zà-mí/me darüber hinaus schon in der Fāra-Zeit (und sogar schon früher) eine Textsorte, das Preislied, bezeichnet, geht er nicht explizit ein; sein Schlußsatz sagt es aber implizit: "Die zà-me-Hymnen wären somit einerseits ein den Anuna-Gottheiten in den Mund gelegter

gelegten, mit Z. 13 beginnenden hymnischen Text damit als zà-mí
(= *tanittu*) "Preis(lied)." In einer Selbstreferenz preist dann der dich-
tende Enlil in Z. 38 das Heiligtum als:

> Haus, vom (Himmelsgott) An gegründet, von Enlil im Preislied
> besungen.

Die im Textzeugen Z erhaltene Schlußdoxologie: ᵈNisaba zà-mí "Nisaba
sei Preis!" ist im Unterschied dazu nicht gattungsspezifisch; mit ihr
dankt der Schreiber der Schreibergöttin für das abgeschlossene, gelun-
gene Werk. Manchmal ist der Preis der Schreibergöttin auch in den
Text integriert; dann spricht ihr der Dichter seinen Dank aus.[7]
Zwischen diesen beiden Verwendungen von zà-mí stehen oft in die
Schlußzeilen des Werkes eingebundene, z.T. mit einer Begründung
versehene Doxologien, die dem oder einem der Protagonisten gel-
ten; so auch in dieser Hymne (Z. 130–131; Version vom Tall Abū
Ṣalābīkh: nur Z. 130):

> Dafür, daß Keš erbaut ist, sei Ašgi Preis!
> Dafür, daß Keš mit einem Preislied besungen ist, sei der Mutter Nintu
> Preis!

Warum der Preis hier Nintu gilt—unter diesem Namen erscheint
Ninhursaĝa regelmäßig im Refrain—und nicht Enlil, ist nicht unmit-
telbar ersichtlich; denn aktiv hat sie nichts dazu beigetragen, und der
Vers ist wohl eine sekundäre Erweiterung gegenüber der alten Fassung.
Ausschlaggebend ist wohl neben der Anpassung der Doxologie an den
Refrain, daß niemand die Göttin, die Herrin von Keš, wie der
Refrain es sagt, überragt, daß sie die *causa* ist für die Existenz von
Keš, so wie es besungen wurde.

Eine solche Doxologie weist das Werk zwar nicht notwendig als
"Preislied" aus, ordnet es aber sehr wohl in den weiteren Kreis der
dem Ruhm des Helden oder der Gottheit dienenden Poesie ein. Um
so wichtiger ist die dreimalige Bezeichnung des Liedes selbst mit dem
Begriff zà-mí "Preislied" in Z. 9; 38 und 131.

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Lobpreis Enlils, andererseits auch eine Ätiologie für den Ursprung der einzelnen
Kultorte und ihres Verhältnisses zu Nippur." Bereits vor Fāra erscheint der Begriff
zà-me mehrfach in der Inschrift auf der "Figure aux plumes," dabei auch in der
Formulierung zà-me me—du₁₁ "(jemandem) mit einem Preislied schmeicheln;" s.
Wilcke (1995).

[7] Siehe die Übersicht bei Wilcke (1976:246–48).

Die Verwendung von zà-mí "Preislied" als Bezeichnung einer Textsorte ist durch die Unterschriften der Gudea-Zylinder fest etabliert: *Zyl. A* xxx 13–16

> É-ninnu ki-bi gi₄-a-ba, ᵈNin-ĝír-su zà-mí,
> é ᵈNin-ĝír-su-ka rû-a, zà-mí mu-ru-bi-im
> "Dafür, daß das Eninnu wieder hergestellt wurde, sei Ninĝirsu Preis!
> Daß Ninĝirsu's Tempel errichtet ist—des Preisliedes Mitte ist es."[8]

und *Zyl. B* xxiv 11–17

> An-né ᵈEn-líl-e nam Lagašᵏⁱ tar-ra, ᵈNin-ĝír-su-ka nam-nir-ĝál-ni,
>   kur-kur-re zu-a
> É-ninnu an-ki-da mú-a, ᵈNin-ĝír-su, zà-mí
> ⌈é⌉ ᵈNin-ĝír-su-⌈ka⌉ rû-a, [z]à-mí eger-bi
> "Dafür, daß An und Enlil die Zukunft Lagaš's bestimmt und alle
>   Länder Ninĝirsu's Ruhm erfahren haben,
> dafür, daß das Eninnu mit Himmel und Erde zusammengewach-
>   sen ist, sei Ninĝirsu Preis!
> Daß Ninĝirsu's Tempel errichtet ist—des Preisliedes Ende ist es."

Enlil singt spontan, erschafft den Text der *Keš-Hymne* beim Singen. Das ist deutlich mündliche Literaturproduktion. Aber noch während er singt, schreibt Nisaba, die Gottheit der Schreibkunst, das Preislied nieder. So legitimiert das Proömium die Schriftform von Literatur für eine Welt mit mündlicher Dichtkunst: Vom Anfang der Zeiten an ist das Aufschreiben von Literatur Praxis der Götter—aber mit deutlich verteilten Rollen: der dichtende Sänger zeichnet sein eigenes Werk nicht selbst auf. Ganz anders im Epilog des ca. 1½ Jahrtausende jüngeren *Erra-Epos*, wo der Dichter das ihm nachts offenbarte Werk morgens (sich selbst) wortwörtlich vorsagt und offenbar auch aufschreibt;[9] denn im folgenden wird die Schriftform des Textes vorausgesetzt,

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[8] Edzard (1997) übersetzt den zweiten Satz: "(This) is the middle of the hymn 'Ningirsu's House having been built'" und analog in *Zyl. B*. Th. Jacobsen's Verständnis (Jacobsen 1987:425; 444), das einen vor Zyl. A anzuordnenden, jetzt verlorenen Zylinder X ansetzt (dazu Wilcke 1991:283–85) und /muru/ (analog eger in *Zyl. B*) attributiv versteht, ist ebenfalls möglich; dann wäre zu übersetzen: "Es ist das mittlere/letzte Preislied davon, daß der Tempel Ninĝirsu's erbaut ist."

[9] En-hedu-Ana spricht von ihrem Lied als von Worten, die um Mitternacht gesprochen wurden und die der Kantor bei Tage wiederholen solle; s. Zgoll (1997a, 26f.; 285f.: Z. 139–140; 429f.: Kommentar) Die Schriftform ist nicht genannt, kann jedoch als Grundlage für den Gesang des Kantors angenommen werden. Der "Schreiber" des Weltschöpfungsepos sagt, er habe den Text von einem "früheren" gehört und aufgezeichnet, sicher eine Fiktion des Dichters, der seinem Werk so

den ein Schreiber auswendig lernen wird und dessen Tafeln in einem
Hause aufbewahrt werden.[10]

Das versetzt die *Keš-Hymne* an den Anfang des Aufschreibens von
Literatur, vielleicht also in die Zeit kurz nach der Schrifterfindung;
denn das älteste bislang identifizierte, schriftlich fixierte Literaturwerk,
ehemals als "*Liste Tribut*" benannt, stammt aus der Uruk III-Zeit.[11]
Andererseits finden sich in eben den Zeilen über Nisabas Aufschreiben
des Liedes auch Hinweise auf die Fāra-Zeit, aus der die ältesten
Quellen der *Keš-Hymne* stammen und aus der wir erstmals eine größere
Zahl—wenn auch meist sehr fragmentarischer—schriftlich fixierter
Literaturwerke besitzen.

Die schreibende Göttin Nisaba ist laut Z. 10 nu-ka dili-bi (Var.
lú/nun-[(x)]-⌈x⌉ kaš dili-bi) "einzelne/einzige nu-ka" In dieser Verbindung
erkennt man nu- als die (lexikalisierte) Variante von lú "Mensch"[12]
in manchen Personenbezeichnungen. Lexikalische und literarische
Keilschrifttexte aus Fāra und vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh bezeichnen
nun in ihren Kolophonen die Schreiber mit dem Zeichen ŠID, meist
als SANGA oder umbisaĝ gelesen,[13] das aber auch die Lesung ka₉
hat (in níĝ-ka₉ = *nikkassum* "Abrechnung"), auf die die Glosse kaš
(kás zu lesen?) hinweist. Dieser Hinweis erschiene "an den Haaren
herbeigezogen," wäre nicht ŠID das UD.GAL.NUN-Zeichen für KA[14]
und würden nicht 2 weitere Formulierungen der fārazeitlichen
Kolophone in Z. 12 anklingen. Diese qualifizieren vielfach[15] einen
der "Schreiber" durch den Zusatz dub mu-šar "hat die Tafel
geschrieben" oder: "hat es auf die Tafel geschrieben,"[16] was dem
dub-ba šar-šar (Var. dub-ba al-šar-šar; [dub-ba m]u-un-ĝá-ĝá; [x x](-)
ba(-)ĝá-ĝá) in Z. 12 sehr nahe kommt. Das unmittelbar folgende

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höhere Autorität verschaffen will, aber auch eine deutliche Trennung von mündlichem
Dichten und der Niederschrift des Textes; Wilcke (1977) 171–174.

[10] Cagni (1969:126–29); Wilcke (1977:197f.).

[11] Englund (1998:99–102). Der Text ist vorläufig noch kaum verständlich. N.
Veldhuis danke ich dafür, daß er mir seinen Beitrag in diesem Band zugänglich
gemacht hat. Danach kann die "*Liste Tribut*" nun nicht mehr als Literaturwerk ange-
sehen werden. Der älteste bekannte poetische Text wäre dann die Inschrift der
"Figure aux Plumes" (s.o., Anm. 6).

[12] S. D.O. Edzard (1963); Volk (1995:222) s.v. nu-érim (etc.); Zgoll (1997b). Zur
Varianz nu-::nun- s. Edzard (1963:95f.); Zgoll (1997b:184). Text LL schreibt lú
anstelle von nu; s. Edzard (1974).

[13] Deimel (1923; *Schultexte aus Fara*; Texte im folgenden *SF* + Nummer) 2–7; Biggs
(1974:33–35); Krebernik (1998:314; 326–35).

[14] W. Sallaberger danke ich herzlich für diesen Hinweis. Siehe Lambert (1981),
Krebernik (1984:283; 1998:301).

[15] Siehe Biggs (1974:33–35); Krebernik (1998:326ff.).

[16] So Krebernik (1998:314); auch in Ebla; s. Pettinato (1981: pp. XXVI–XXIX).

šu-šè al-ĝá-ĝá findet ebenfalls eine Entsprechung in den Kolophonen, die zu einem jeweils anderen "Schreiber" notieren: dub šu (mu-/mu-na)-ĝál "hat ihm die Tafel zur Hand hin bereitet?."[17] Die konkrete Bedeutung ist unklar; vielleicht bezieht sich der Vermerk auf den, der die Tafel für das Beschreiben präpariert, sie dem Schreiber "handsam" gemacht hat.[18] Alle diese Aufgaben muß die Göttin Nisaba als einzige verfügbare nu-ka-Person, d.h., Schreiberin,[19] selbst verrichten—noch einmal ein Hinweis auf den Beginn des Aufschreibens von Literatur; denn den Zeilen ist zu entnehmen, daß das komplexe System differenzierter Funktionen der verschiedenen Mitglieder der Schreiberzunft, wie es die fārazeitlichen Kolophone zeigen, noch nicht ausgebildet war; auch gleichzeitige Wirtschafts- und Rechtstexte kennen es nicht.

Die Metapher, Nisaba lasse es aus „diesen" (= Enlils) Worten wie auf eine Saite tropfen, erweckt die Vorstellung von als Schriftzeichen (in Kolumnen) wie die Edelsteine einer Halskette aufgefädelten Wörtern (so auch J. Cooper, mündlich) wie auch gleichermaßen die von durch fallende Tropfen zum Klingen gebrachten Saiten einer Leier und damit vom in der Schriftform festgehaltenen und aus ihr wieder zu weckenden, lebendigen poetischen Vortrag.

### Äußere Struktur

Ein drei Verse umfassender Refrain und der ihm jeweils folgende Vermerk "Es ist das *n.te* Haus" gliedern den Text in "Strophen." Der Refrain findet sich schon in der fārazeitlichen Version, ist dort aber nur zweizeilig; die Aussage über die Göttin Nintu ist eine spätere Erweiterung. Ein späterer Zusatz sind auch die gezählten Häuser;

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[17] Deimel (1923:2–7); Krebernik (1998:314; 329: *SF* 55; 333: *NTSŠ* 229); Biggs (1974:33–35). In *SF* 55, Biggs (1974) Nr. 34 und 42 folgt der durch dub šu ĝál qualifizierte "Schreiber" direkt auf den, von dem dub mu-šar gesagt ist; auch Nr. 126 nennt den dub mu-šar-"Schreiber" vor dem mit Zusatz dub šu ĝál, 4 Namen trennen sie; Nr. 142 ist zu stark zerstört, ebenso Nr. 33 und 287, wo die Namen nicht erhalten sind; ob der dub mu-šar-Vermerk ursprünglich auch in *NTSŠ* 229 stand, läßt sich nicht erkennen.

[18] "Hat (ihm) die Tafel gehalten"—so Krebernik (1998:314)—scheidet wohl wegen des Terminativs bei šu "Hand" aus. Die Nachbereitung der beschriebenen Tafel, d.h. wohl Kontrolle und Kollation, vermerkt der vier mal bezeugte Zusatz dub til in den Texten vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh; s. Biggs (1974:34–35).

[19] Diese Bedeutung resultiert wohl am ehesten daher, daß die Hauptaufgabe der Schreibkundigen immer, aber ganz besonders in der frühen Zeit, im Rechnungs-wesen lag.

die alte Fassung kennt sie noch nicht. Dieser in Fragen stilisierte Refrain stellt Keš, dessen Stadtgott Ašgi und dessen Mutter, die Stadtgöttin Nintu, als ohnegleichen dar. Er lautet in allen Strophen außer der letzten gleich, wo er in eine zwei Verse (Z. 130–131; in der Fassung vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh nur einen Vers?) umfassende Doxologie umformuliert ist (siehe oben). Der Redaktor des altbaby-lonischen Refrains bringt auch die Graphik ins Spiel: er ersetzt die beiden alten Verbalformen auf an-ga-/a-(i)nga-/durch ši-in-ga-Formen (/ši-(i)nga-/), und fügt einen dritten Satz mit Verbum igi-du$_8$ (ohne Präfixe /ši-(i)nga/) an. Damit enden alle drei Verse auf mit dem Schriftzeichen ŠI = IGI beginnende Prädikate.

    Die Standardversion der aB Zeit umfaßt 8 "Strophen;" zwei Quellen[20] (I und NN) fügen nach der 3. Strophe eine zusätzliche, 17 (+ Hauszahl) Verse umfassende Sonderstrophe (IIIa) ein. Eine weitere Sonderstrophe (VIa) findet sich in 2 Textzeugen aus Isin (Isin A und B) nach Z. 102 (11 Verse + Hauszahl). Diese Sonder-strophe kann nur dann die sein, um derentwillen der unveröffentlichte Text T die mögliche Zahl 10 für das 8. Haus der Standardversion

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[20] Sigla für altbabylonische Textzeugen **A-JJ** nach Gragg (1969: 165–166); **KK-QQ** nach Wilcke (1972:41, Anm. 9), dabei **OO**=Ni 4649 (*ISET* 1, 176)+Ni 9861 (*ISET* 1, 190), Join Paul Delnero; **RR** = AO ?? (*PRAK* B 150) = Z. 51–59; 77–81; **SS** Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaž 15238 (unveröffentlicht); s. Edzard (1976–1980:572b) = Z. 22–44; **TT** = *SLFN* 38: 3 NT 919,473 = Z. 1–12; 33–44; **UU** = *SLFN* 38: 3 NT 303,130 = Z. 1–3(?); 18–20; **VV** = *SLFN* 38: 3 NT 919,468 = Z. 109–115; 121–128; **WW** = *SLFN* 39: 3 NT 916,325 = Z. 19–117; 121–123; **XX** = *SLFN* 39: 3 NT 904,153 = Z. 29–34; 39–43; **YY** = *SLFN* 39: 3 NT 916,340 = Z. 65–73; **ZZ** = *SLFN* 40: 3 NT 919,449 = Z. 103–110; **AAA** = *SLFN* 40: 3 NT 904,177 = Z. 62–71; **BBB** = *SLFN* 40: 3 NT 906,253 = Z. 45–53; **CCC** = *SLFN* 40: 3 NT 906,253 = Z. 45–54; **DDD** = *SLFN* 40: 3 NT 917,394 = Z. 5–8; **EEE** = *SLFN* 41: 3 NT 916,350 = Z. 21–30; **FFF** = *SLFN* 41: 3 NT 908,315 = Z. 76–84; **GGG** = *SLFN* 41: 3 NT 927,531 = Z. 1–4; **HHH** = *SLFN* 41: 3 NT 916,360 = Z. 75–77. **BM** = Geller (1996: Photos nach S. 72): BM 115798 = Z. 11–35; 39–103; 107–131; **Isin A** = Wilcke (1987:85ff. mit Taf. 33–35): IB 1511 = Z. 30–45; 88–111 (+102a-l); **Isin B** = IB 425 (unveröffentlicht); s. Edzard und Wilcke (1977:85) = Z. 29–43; 102i-l; 103–110; **Isin C** = IB 1091a+b (unveröffentlicht); s. Walker und Wilcke (1981:92) = Z. 73–91. **VAM** = VAT 17256a = Garcia Recio (1999–2000; Kopie S. 203) = Z. 76–82 ; 112–116 (Recio: Join mit H?). CBS 15131 der Liste in Black et al. (1998–) ist der unveröffentlichte Text **EE** ("CBS 1513"). —Aus "grauer Literatur" ferner: **Ur$_3$** = *UET* 6/3, no. 11 (Join mit Text **X**) = Z. 112–119; 122–126; **Ur$_4$** = *UET* 6/3, no. 49 = Z. 83–86; **Ur$_5$** = *UET* 6/3, no. 103 = Z. 38–43; **Ur$_6$** = *UET* 6/3, no. 164 = Z. 20–32.—*ISET* 3, 107: Ni 2480 (ist das derselbe Text wie Ni "2481" in der Liste der Quellen in Black et al. [1998]) ist offensichtlich identisch mit Text **C**.—Die Fragmente der fārazeitlichen Version vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh sind: Biggs (1974), Nr. 305*; 307; 308; 309; 311; 314*(?); 341*; Asterisk: noch nicht bei Biggs (1971). Sie können alle von derselben Tafel stammen; einen Rekonstruktionsversuch habe ich in Wilcke (1991:283) unternommen. Nach dieser Rekonstruktion zitiere ich diese Version hier als **AbŠ**.

und Text G anscheinend die Zahl 9 für das 7. Haus schreibt,[21] wenn sie in Text T an anderer Stelle eingefügt war; denn Z. 102 und Z. 103 folgen in T unmittelbar aufeinander.

Die Abfolge der Strophen hat sich nach der Fāra-Zeit geändert. Da die alte Version AbS aber nur fragmentarisch erhalten ist und wir die altbabylonische Standardfassung, auf der auch unser Textverständnis fußt, vollständig rekonstruieren können, lege ich diese auch hinsichtlich der Nummerierung der Strophen zugrunde.

Der Umfang der einzelnen Strophen schwankt erheblich, zwischen 19($\pm$1) und 5 Versen. Verschiedentlich bieten Textzeugen auch zusätzliche Verse oder lassen andere aus. G. Gragg hat seiner Edition den sehr gut erhaltenen Textzeugen A zugrunde gelegt und dort fehlende Zeilen in den kritischen Apparat verwiesen. Th. Jacobsens Übersetzung berücksichtigt solche Zeilen nicht;[22] J.A. Black et al. behandeln sie unterschiedlich.[23] Zwei dieser Zeilen (49a und 45a) finden Ihr Gegenstück bereits in der Version vom Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh. Eine definitive Aussage darüber, was fester Bestand des Liedes ist und was sekundäre Erweiterung, ist kaum möglich. Abweichungen gegenüber der fārazeitlichen Version müssen nicht "sekundär" sein, denn auch der rekonstruierte Text AbS ist, besonders wenn wir die oben erörterte Trennung von Dichten und schriftlicher Fixierung beim Worte nehmen, mit Sicherheit keine Originalhandschrift des Dichters. Darum ist auch eine verbindliche Zeilenzählung kaum zu etablieren. Ich folge hier A (bei Z. 62 und 65, die A gegenüber den 6 anderen nachprüfbaren Textzeugen umstellt, aber der Mehrheit der Quellen); Zeilen, die A nicht enthält, erhalten eine a-Nummer (z.B. 33a). Sie müssen nicht als spätere Einschübe gelten. Z.B. fehlt Z. 49a nur in A; alle andern 8 Zeugen für diesen Textabschnitt bieten sie.

Oft stehen sich in etwa gleiche Zahlen von Textzeugen gegenüber, die eine Zeile bieten oder auslassen. Zusätzlich beobachten wir, daß Textzeugen innerhalb einer Strophe ausgleichen und für eine zusätzliche Zeile eine andere auslassen; sind mehrere Textzeugen beteiligt, sind auch meist dieselben Zeilen betroffen und sie sind dann auch gleich formuliert. Freilich, nicht jede zusätzliche oder ausgelassene Zeile wird

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[21] Gragg (1969:158), und zur Unsicherheit Wilcke (1972:42).

[22] Th. Jacobsen (1987:383 mit Anm. 24) hält Z. 92 ("breaks the pattern") für "clearly not original." Auch die Sonderstrophen nimmt er nicht auf.

[23] Black, et al. (1998–) nehmen eine in A fehlende Zeile (49a) als Z. "50" in den Komposittext auf, weist einer anderen, ebenfalls aufgenommenen (95a) die Nr. "96A" zu (beide auch in der fārazeitlichen Version vertreten), und nehmen von drei anderen (33a, 36a, 115a) keine Notiz.

kompensiert. So kann man—neben nie auszuschließenden Schreiber-versehen und möglichen spontanen Erweiterungen (z.B. Z. 33a?)—einerseits eine gewisse Flexibilität der Überlieferung,[24] andererseits aber auch eine Tendenz zur Beibehaltung der Gesamtzahl der Verse einer Strophe und dabei eine gewisse Standardisierung annehmen. Damit scheint die Zahl der Verse je Strophe auch von Bedeutung.

Die Verteilung von zusätzlichen und fehlenden Zeilen sei zunächst dokumentiert. Fettdruck der Sigla hebt hervor, welche Quellen eine zusätzliche Zeile durch Auslassung einer anderen kompensieren. Bei gegenläufigem Verhalten verschiedener Quellengruppen differenziere ich zusätzlich durch Kursivierung.

II. Haus:

28: + A, B, C, H, K, R, S, V, BB, FF, HH, LL, BM;
    − N om.

32: + A, B, C, H, S, FF, HH, LL, [OO], XX, BM, Isin-A, Isin-B; Ur$_6$
    − V om.

33a: + LL;
    − A, B, C, S, V, FF, HH, OO, TT, XX, BM, Isin-A, Isin-B om.

36a: + LL. *N, S*;
    − **A**, B, **V, FF**, TT, Isin-A, Isin-B om.

37: + **A, V**, LL, **FF**;
    − B, *N, S*, TT, Isin-A; Isin-B om.

III. Haus:

49a: + **B, J, O**, W, FF, GG, **JJ, BM; CCC**
    − *A* om.

51: + *A*; W, FF, GG, RR(?);
    − **B, J, O, JJ, BM; CCC** om.

V. Haus:

80: + A, B, C, I, U, FF, KK, RR, Isin-A, Isin-B;
    − GG om.

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[24] Z. 36–36a finden sich als Z. 22–23 auch in *Enki's Fahrt nach Nippur* (*OECT* 1,1 i 22–23 und Parallelen), dem im Schulkanon unmittelbar folgenden Literaturwerk; vgl. auch unten zu Z. 95a, wo BM eine Formulierung aus diesem Werk übernimmt.

IV. Haus:

65:  + A, B, C, I, L, U, FF, GG;
 − AAA om.

VI. Haus:

95:  + **A, B**, P, T, **AA**, FF, BM, Isin-A;
 − F; *U* om.

95a:  + T, *U,* FF, BM, Isin-A;
 − **A, B**, F, **AA** om.

VII. Haus:

115a: + E, M, II, BM, Isin-A(?);
 − **A**, B, C, G, **CC, FF**, OO, WW, X(=Ur$_3$); **(H+)**
 **VAM**? om.

116:  + **A, B**, E, **G,** M, **CC, FF**, II, **OO**, BM, Isin-A(?); **(H+)VAM**?
 − C om.

117:  + A, E, BM, Isin-A(?);
 − **B**, C, **G, M, CC, FF**

Die Abfolge der einzelnen Strophen und ihre jeweiligen Zeilenzahlen (für die fārazeitliche Fassung nach den altbabylonischen Zahlen rekonstruiert) ergibt nun folgendes Bild, Zahlen jeweils ohne Refrain:

*8-Häuser Standard-Version des 18. Jhd.s:*

| Haus | (Proömium) | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verse | 12 | 5 | 19±1 | 9±1 | 12 | 9 | 12 | 19±1 | 6 |

*Version des 26. Jhd.s (Tall Abū Ṣalābīkh)*, rekonstruiert unter Beibehaltung der "Hausnummern" und mit Annahme des Umfangs wie in der Fassung des 18. Jhd. (aber für VIII mit dem tatsächlichen Umfang)

| Haus | (Proömium) | I | II | III | VI | IV | V | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verse | 12 | 5 | 19±1 | 9±1 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 19±1 | 5 |

*10-Häuser-Version des 18. Jhd.:*

| Haus | (Pr.) | I | II | III | IIIa | IV | V | VI | VIa | VII | VIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verse | 12 | 5 | 19±1 | 9±1 | 14 | 12 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 19±1 | 6 |

Die Zahlen zeigen Regelmäßigkeiten. In der Standard-Version der altbabylonischen Zeit sehen wir eine Mittelgruppe der Häuser III–VI mit linear alternierender Abfolge der Zeilenzahlen (9–12–9–12). Eine Gruppe (I–II::VII–VIII) mit spiegelbildlich angeordneten Zeilenzahlen

(5–19::19–6) umklammert sie. Das Proömium hat keinen Anteil an diesem Muster.

Die fārazeitliche Fassung bietet dagegen nach dem Proömium ein rein spiegelbildlich aufgebautes Muster der "Häuser." Weil sie keinen Z. 128 entsprechenden Vers enthält, ist das geringfügige Ungleichgewicht zwischen Strophen I und VIII der Standard-Version hier nicht vorhanden.

Die altbabylonische 10-Häuser-Version strukturiert den Aufbau nicht mehr nach dem Umfang der "Häuser;" den Redaktoren ist an diesem Kunstmittel nichts mehr gelegen.

Das Spiel mit den Zeilen-/Verszahlen, ihr Einsatz zur Strukturierung des Textes, steht nicht isoliert. Hier sei nur hingewiesen auf die Inana-Hymne Nin-mešara,[25] in der die zentrale Aussage in Z. 77 steht, genau in der Mitte des Liedes: 76 (73+3) Zeilen gehen ihr voran und 76 (3+73) Zeilen folgen ihr; ein Rahmen von jeweils 3 Zeilen schließt sie ein. Z. 74–76 betreffen En-hedu-Ana's Schicksal, das Lugal-Ane mit Hilfe seines Stadtgottes Su'en zum Schlimmen gewandt hatte. Das soll die Göttin Inana dem höchsten Gott An berichten; in Zeile 77 folgt der der En-hedu-Ana bereits erteilte Spruch Ans über den Sieg der Frau, d.h., Inana's, über Lugal-Ane; dem folgen in Z. 78–80 (noch Rede Ans) eine Begründung und die Aufforderung, einen Rechtsstreit zu beginnen. War Lugal-Ane Thema der Z. 74–76, so ist er es auch noch in der ersten Hälfte von Z. 77; von der zweiten Hälfte von Z. 77 an ist dann aber nur noch von Inanna die Rede; dabei wird die Diskrepanz der Ebenen Mensch::Göttin neutralisiert, indem die Dichterin von ihr als munus "Frau" spricht.[26] Auf beiden Seiten der Trennfuge, die das Lied in der Mitte von Z. 77 in zwei gleichgroße Hälften teilt, stehen einander die beiden Widersacher, Lugal-Ane und die Frau, d.h., Inana, gegenüber. Die Verteilung der syntaktischen Rollen scheint ebenfalls nicht zufällig; denn Lugal-Ane ist als Genitivattribut des Objekts in einem Satz mit transitivem Präsens-Futur an dem Geschehen, das sein Schicksal betrifft, nicht mehr beteiligt; die durch das Ergativsuffix als handelnd markierte "Frau" Inana aber ist Subjekt dieses Satzes; sie bestimmt, was aus Lugal-Ane werden wird:

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[25] Zgoll (1997a); Transkription dort S. 10; meine Übersetzung weicht nur minimal von der von Frau Zgoll (S. 11) ab.

[26] Siehe die Diskussion dieses Passus bei Zgoll (1997a), besondes S. 121–138.— Denkbar wäre auch ein kollektiver Plural "Frauen," Inana und En-hedu-Ana verbindend, dann wäre aber das Possessivum in Z. 78 und 80 kaum auf Inana zu beziehen.

| | |
|---|---|
| 74  nam-ĝu$_{10}$ $^{d}$Su'en Lugal-an-né | Mein Schicksal—Su'en, Lugal-Ane— |
| 75  An-ra du$_{11}$-mu-na-ab An-e ha-ma-du$_8$-e | berichte es An! An möge es mir lösen! |
| 76  a-da-lam An-ra ba-an-na-ab-bé-en An-e mu-e-du$_8$-e | Gleich jetzt berichtest du es An. An wird es uns lösen! |
| 77  nam Lugal-an-né munus-e ba-ab-kar-re | "Das Schicksal Lugal-Ane's wird die Frau wegreißen. |
| 78  kur a-ma-ru ĝìri-ni-šè ì-nú | Ihr liegen Berge und Wasserflut zu Füßen. |
| 79  munus-bi in-ga-mah iri mu-un-da-ab-tuku$_4$-e | Auch diese Frau ist mächtig! Sie wird die Stadt vor sich erzittern lassen. |
| 80  gub-ba šà-ga-na ha-ma-še$_{17}$-dè | Tritt (vor Gericht), damit sie mir abkühle, was ihr Herz bewegt!" |

*Innere Struktur*

Die *Keš-Hymne* beginnt im Proömium mit dem Bericht darüber, wie Enlil von seinem fürstlichen Amt (oder: durch die fürstlichen Götter) aus dem Tempel geführt, damit er als König handele, die Berge in Schönheit entstehen sieht, unter ihnen das gekrönte Keš erblickt und es in einem Preislied besingt, das die schreibkundige Göttin Nisaba, die die Tontafel selbst vorbereitet hat, aufschreibt.

Sie endet mit der Aufforderung, nach Keš zu kommen und—einmal angekommen—dort auch am Kultfest teilzunehmen, und mündet ein in die Doxologie, die den Gott Ašgi dafür preist, daß Keš erbaut worden ist, und (nur in der altbabylonischen Fassung?) in den Preis der Göttin Nintu dafür, daß Keš im Preislied besungen wurde. Die Doxologie nimmt damit Themen des einleitenden Berichtes auf. Wir erkennen nun, daß das zusammen mit den sich gerade erhebenden Bergen von Enlil erblickte Keš kein Berg ist wie die anderen, sondern ein von dem Gott Ašgi geschaffenes Gebäude, ein Werk der Handwerkskunst. Und seiner Mutter Ninhursaĝa/Nintu ist zu verdanken, daß es im Preislied von Enlil besungen wurde; denn sie ist die Herrin von Keš, hat den Erbauer geboren und ist, wie ihre Namen es sagen, die Herrin über Geburt und Gebirge. Zu letzteren ist auch Keš zu rechnen, wie die Abū Ṣalābīkh-Fassung bei Z. 7 (AbS ii 2–3) und auch Z. 15 es deutlich sagen. Insofern umschließen

Proömium und Doxologie die Hymne. Und auch hinsichtlich der
Strophenunterschriften ergäbe sich keine Diskrepanz, weil die Vorrede
ja nicht durch eine eigene Unterschrift von der folgenden 5-zeiligen
1. Strophe ("1. Haus") abgesetzt ist.

   Aber wer spricht in der 8. Strophe? Lädt Enlil nach Keš ein? Preist
er den Bauherrn Ašgi und seine Mutter Nintu, weil sie ihm Anlaß
gaben, dieses Lied zu dichten und zu singen? Ist also die Fiktion der
Eingangszeilen bis zum Ende durchgehalten? Wir müssen damit rech-
nen; denn Hinweise auf das Gegenteil sind im Text nicht zu finden.
Ist Enlil also noch Sprecher des "8. Hauses," dann gilt die Symmetrie
der Verszahlen je Strophe innerhalb seines Liedes. Die Bezüge zwi-
schen Doxologie und Proömium bauen dann einen zweiten Spannungs-
bogen über dem Gesamtwerk auf.

   Verfolgen wir die Thematik der Strophen—gleich ob in der
fārazeitlichen Anordnung oder in der altbabylonischen—so wird sehr
deutlich, daß dem Fortschreiten von Strophe zu Strophe auch ein
Fortschreiten im Raum entspricht. Der Sänger kommt dem Gegenstand
seines Liedes immer näher.

   In *Strophe I* sieht er Keš in großer Ferne massiv und mit wech-
selnden Licht- und Farbeffekten erglänzen, als Teil der Silhouette
der Gebirge, mit Enlils Tempel Ekur verwachsen, die Berge über-
ragend und an den Himmel stoßend.

   In *Strophe II* gewinnt er beim näher Kommen schon konkrete opti-
sche und akustische Eindrücke. Die sind aber noch durch Luftspie-
gelungen verfremdet und verweigern sich, wie bei Luftspiegelungen
üblich, der Wahrnehmung der realen Distanz. Das "Haus" erscheint
schiffsgleich, weiß wie ein Schwan[27] und wie der Mond schwimmend,
doch sind schon üppige, Reichtum versprechende Konturen auszu-
machen. Es ist angenehm anzuschauen, und man erkennt, daß es
an einem gefälligen Ort steht. Hinzukommende akustische Eindrücke
zeigen, wie nahe man dem Ziel schon ist. Von pulsierendem Leben
zeugt der Lärm der Rinderherden, der in der Umgebung von Keš
wie aus ihm heraus ertönt. Schon ist das himmelhohe Tempeloval?
(großes ib) erkennbar und darin, hoch aufgereckt, ein es krönendes
Gebäude mit Konturen eines den Himmel mit vielfarbigem Glanz
erfüllenden und tiefe Schatten werfenden Gebirges, dessen Fundamente

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[27] So nach Edzard (1997:78: *Zyl. A* xiv 23), der noch ein Fragezeichen setzt. Die
Identifizierung mit der Eule durch A. Salonen (1973:301; s. auch *AHw* und *CAD*
s.v. *hū'a*) kann nicht zutreffen, da es sich um einen Wasservogel handelt.

tief bis ins Grundwasser reichen, wo es unmittelbar mit dem Weisheitsgott Enki (dem Fürsten) kommuniziert. Die höchsten Götter des Pantheons sind ihm offensichtlich wohlgesinnt.

Nun ist der Dichter dicht herangekommen. Hat er die Tore noch nicht durchschritten?[28] Er steht in *Strophe III* unmittelbar vor den Bauten, wird der gewaltigen, kosmischen Dimensionen gewahr und bewundert Formen, Farben und Details des Fassadenschmucks.

Er sieht Keš stets als Haus, also Wohnstatt—scil. von Göttern, aber auch von Menschen, wie sich im weiteren Verlauf zeigt. Die Wahrnehmung der riesigen Ausmaße ließe sich als die einer von außen gesehenen, von einer Mauer umschlossenen und vom Hochtempel überragten Stadt verstehen. Doch hätte diese Stadt keine Stadtmauer mit mächtigen Toren, die der Besucher durchschreiten muß; denn es wäre sehr befremdlich, würde ein so imposantes Bauwerk mit Stillschweigen übergangen. Mauer und Tore finden sich dagegen (erst) in der VI. (in AbS der IV.) Strophe, wenn man sich schon deutlich innerhalb der Stadt befindet. Vielleicht gibt es also gar keine Stadtmauer, und der Besucher schreitet sogleich hinein in eine Gasse zwischen hoch aufragenden Gebäuden.[29]

Nennt der Text in Z. 45–46 Flächenmaße, dann spricht er sicher von Fassaden—z.B. 3.800 ha—zu denen der Neuankömmling in Straßenschluchten aufblickt: schwindelerregende Ausmaße und deutlich wirklichkeitsfern—sie sollen das vielleicht auch sein. Handelt es sich dagegen um Raummaße, dann sehen die Zahlen realistischer aus, ohne genaue Maßangaben sein zu wollen: 600 bùr ≈ 19.400.000m³ entsprechen einer 19,4 m hoch bebauten oder eingefriedeten Fläche von 1km², einer 9,7 m hoch bebauten Flächen von 2 km², etc. Das könnte einer Stadt entsprechen, freilich keiner altorientalischen Großstadt wie Uruk, Ur, Nippur oder (später) Babylon. Die 10 bùr von Z. 46 bezögen sich dann auf ein Gebäude, dessen Fassade/Masse 1/60 der Gesamtgröße ausmachte (63,3 ha oder 32 × 100 × 100m³). Das könnte auf den die Stadt überragenden Hochtempel samt der Terrasse, auf der er stand, zutreffen, wenn man auch hier mit Übertreibungen um der runden Zahlen willen rechnet.[30] Die als ki-šè "zur

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[28] Wilcke (2004) wäre zu korrigieren.

[29] Zu Keš als einer nicht "normale[n] Stadt," "ob—und wann—Keš einmal eine regelrechte Siedlung gewesen ist," s. Edzard (1974:112f.; 1976–1980:573).

[30] Die Grundfläche der Hochterrase in Hafāği war mit 27 × 32m (Lenzen 1942:32) wesentlich kleiner; die des Weißen Tempels in Uruk kommt mit 66 × 70m und einer Terrassenhöhe von 13m (Lenzen 1942:7), auf der sich der Tempel erhob, den

Erde" beschriebenen Maße beziehen sich auf die unterirdische Gründungsplatte.[31] Anschließend beschreiben Metaphern und Vergleiche die kunstvolle Verzierung der Gebäude mit plastischem, halbplastischem oder als Einlegearbeit gestaltetem Bauschmuck, der auch das Wesen des "Hauses" verbildlicht. Aufschlußreich sind Z. 48–49: Auf die Metaphern Wildschaf und Steinbock—sicher auf konkreten, figürlichen Bauschmuck bezogen—folgen zwei Vergleiche mit denselben Tieren. Diese beschreiben nun die Farben des Gebäudes, und zwei weitere Bilder setzen einen gelben (grünen oder gar blauen?—sig$_7$) Storchvogel[32] (Ibis?) und den Schwan als tertia compartationis der Farbgebung ein. Licht, Sonnenglanz auf hohen Fassaden und mildes Dämmerlicht in den Gassen am Fuß der Gebäude, und Farbe, das tiefe Grün der Bäume, kommen als Eindrücke dazu, sodaß der Dichter das berggleich aufragende und bis ins Grundwasser herabreichende Keš als neben Himmel und Erde dritte kosmische Masse erkennt.

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Angaben des Textes schon näher. Hilfreich ist auch die Statueninschrift des Ur-Ba'u von Lagaš, der zufolge der Herrscher nach Ausheben und wieder Anfüllen der Baugrube mit einer Gründungsplatte aus gereinigtem Erdreich einen ca. 5m hohen Sockel baute und darauf den ca. 15m hohen Tempel errichtete (über die Grundfläche macht Ur-Ba'u keinen Angaben); Falkenstein (1966:230–32).

[31] So auch Jacobsen (1987:377); siehe oben, Anm. 30: Falkenstein (1966) zur Statueninschrift des Ur-Ba'u von Lagaš.

[32] Dem altbabylonischen muš-kú$^{mušen}$ (= *muškû*) entspricht in AbS [UD].MUŠ.LU, davor steht anscheinend [du]r-ŠUL. Diese beiden Vögel erscheinen in den Vogellisten aus Fāra (*SF* 58 vi 11ff.) und Ebla (G. Pettinato, *MEE* 3, S. 105–120) als Nr. 6 (Ebla schreibt: muš-ki$^{mušen}$) und 11 (Fāra schreibt: dúr-ŠUL$^{mušen}$); s. auch die graphischen Varianten in Nr. 132 der Liste, Fāra: muš-gù$^{mušen}$; Ebla: maš-ga$^{mušen}$, die sicher ebenfalls den "Schlangenfresser" schreiben; vgl. dazu aus Ugarit muš-ga$^{mušen}$ in *MSL* VIII/2 122 Anm. zu Z. 148a. In der archaischen Vogelliste aus Uruk ist keiner der Einträge erhalten.—Der "Schlangenfresser" ist langbeinig (s. *AHw* und *CAD* s.v.); darum kann die Bestimmung durch Salonen (1973:299) als Schlangenadler = Circaetus gallicus *Gmel.*, Schlangenbussard; s. Brehm (1911, VI, Vögel I, S. 342–345; Abb. S. 343) nicht zutreffen. Seine gelbe oder grüne Färbung (sig$_7$) scheint sehr auffällig zu sein; vgl. Gudea *Zyl. B* xvi 13–14 kuš-lá igi-bi-šè si-sá-a-bi muš-gù sig$_7$-ga a tu$_{17}$-a-àm "Seine (= des Baldachins: ĝiš-dúl) aufgereihten Lederbänder waren gelbe', gebadete 'Schlangenfresser(vögel);'" s. Veldhuis (2004:268–69).

Die Var. muš-gim sig$_7$-ga (B), muš sig$_7$-ga-gim (J) und muš mir-re-gim sig$_7$-ga (O, unveröff.) vergleichen die Färbung einer Schlange, sind aber durchweg Schreiberversehen (Zeichen ausgelassen; graphische Minimalvarianten MUŠ.KÚ.MUŠEN und MUŠ.MIR.RE in einer beschädigten Vorlage verwechselt? Oder modernes Versehen?); muš mir-re "wütende Schlange" gehört darum nicht zu muš-mir(-du) = *šibbu* "Gürtelschlange;" so übersetzen *AHw* und Heimpel 1968, 508ff. mit Verweis auf Landsberger und Krumbiegel (1934:58f.). N.B. eine "Gürtelschlange" kennt "Brehms Tierleben" (Brehm 1911) nicht; daß man in Mesopotamien die Gattung Boa kannte (Landsberger), darf bezweifelt werden; die Gleichung (muš-)mir = *šibbu* "eine Schlange" ist mit *CAD* s.v. *šibbu* A und B von dem homonymen akkadischen Wort für den Gürtel zu trennen.

Mit dem Wechsel zum "IV. Haus" ändert sich die Abfolge der Strophen. In der fārazeitlichen AbS-Version schließt Strophe VI der altbabylonischen Fassung unmittelbar als IV. Strophe an Nr. III an.

Der Sänger schreitet *Strophe AbS-IV = VI altbab.* zufolge, gleich nachdem er die riesige Gesamtanlage betreten und in ihren kosmischen Ausmaßen wie im Detail bewundert hat, auf ein mächtig auf einer Terrasse stehendes, weiß erstrahlendes Gebäude zu. Seine belebende Wirkkraft ist spürbar. Eine Mauer umschließt es. Den Zugang eröffnet ein von liegenden Löwenfiguren flankiertes Tor, das als Gerichtsort erkennbar ist. Die mit der Darstellung eines mächtigen, unbewegbaren Berges verzierten Türflügel sind durch mit Figuren angriffslustiger Tiere geschmückte Riegel und Bolzen verschließbar. Das muß die Temenos-Mauer sein, die den Hochtempel abschirmt, den man über die Mauer hinweg neben einem riesigen Speicher erspäht, und oben erkennt man Lahama-Figuren, die nackten Helden,[33] die Wächter des Eingangs in den Tempel.

Die altbabylonsche Version kommt hier erst nach einem längeren Weg (zwei Stationen: IV. und V. Haus) durch die Stadt an. AbS verlegt diese Stationen anscheinend ins Innere der Tempelanlage, hinter die Temenosmauer.

Mit *Strophe AbS-V = IV altbab.* blickt der Sänger in eine komplexe, unüberschaubare Stadt, sieht geordnet marschierende Krieger und zukunftsträchtige Kultakte, beobachtet das Zusammentreiben und Schlachten unzähliger Opfertiere. Tributbringer aus aller Herren Länder bringen Bauholz herbei für ein himmelhohes, kronengleiches Dach aus dem Holz von Buchsbaum und Euphratpappel, das wie ein Gebirge begrünt ist. Für die AbS-Fassung geschieht das innerhalb der Temenosmauern; für die altbabylonische Version außerhalb.

In *Strophe AbS-VI = V altbab.* geht es um das Wirken des Tempels nach außen, nämlich ù-tu "Gebären," "hervorbringen," "plastische oder poetische Kunstwerke schaffen," und im Inneren. Nach außen schafft er Zeichen großer Macht und Gefährlichkeit.[34] Mit den Löwen können konkrete Löwenfiguren genannt sein und mit dem Gebären der konkrete schöpferische Akt, die Bildhauerkunst; denn der Göttin Nintu wird ja sogleich das "Gebären" übertragen (Z. 76–77). Ebenso kann metonymisch das Hervorbringen einer Fülle von alles Übel

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[33] Wiggermann (1992:155f.; 164ff.).

[34] A. Zgoll schlägt vor zu erwägen, daß der am Kult teilnehmende König beim Verlassen des Tempels zum Löwen, löwengleich werde.

abweisenden Machtzeichen gemeint sein, zu denen z.B. auch die
Torlöwen (Z. 92) aus der VI. (AbS: IV. Strophe) gehören. Die
Ambivalenz ist vermutlich intendiert.

šà-bi "sein Inneres" in Z. 74–75 kann einfach den Gegensatz von
Außen- und Innenwirkung ausdrücken; es kann aber auch auf das
é-šà, den vom Eingang am weitesten entfernten Raum des Tempels
(s. *RTC* 145) hinweisen. Die Aussage über den oder die Krieger
bleibt dunkel. Sie hat sicher durch Stichwortanschluß Z. 76 (= Z.
60) angezogen. Unklar ist mir, ob sù.d "fern," "unergründlich" attribu-
tiv zu ur-saĝ "Krieger" steht oder ein zweites Prädikat zu šà-bi
darstellt: "ist (ein) ferner (=unergründlicher?) Krieger" oder "ist
Krieger, ist unergründlich."

Die Götter des lokalen Pantheons, d.h., das göttliche Personal des
Tempels, walten ihres Amtes. Ninhursaĝa, die Muttergöttin schlechthin,
erscheint hier unter zwei Namen und überträgt ihrem *alter ego* Nintu
die Zuständigkeit für das Gebären. Ihrem Ehemann, dem Gott
Šulpa'e—der Name ist hier, wie die Schreibung ᵈŠul-pa-è-a mit dem
Morphem für Partizipien des Perfektivs (*hamțu*) zeigt, wörtlich zu ver-
stehen als "der göttliche, strahlend erschienene junge Mann"—obliegt
das Amt des lokalen Herrschers (énsi.k), und in dieser Funktion
amtiert er als en, als "Hoher Priester" (scil. der Göttin; ob das konkret
eine kultische Hochzeitsfeier meint, läßt der Text offen). Ihrem Sohn,
dem im Refrain gepriesenen Ašgi, kommt es zu, die Erstlingsopfer
zu verzehren, und der göttliche Herold entpuppt sich als Jäger, der
den Tempel mit Wildbret versorgt.

Da in der altbabylonischen Fassung Temenos und Tempel erst in
der folgenden *Strophe VI* erreicht werden, die wir schon oben, der
Abfolge der AbS-Fassung folgend, nach *Strophe III* besprochen haben,
siedelt sie das Geschehen im Stadtgebiet an. Dazu müssen die Götter
das Heiligtum verlassen haben. Es wäre denkbar, daß sie dem Besucher
entgegenzogen.

Mit der *VII. Strophe* ist der Sänger (in AbS: weiterhin) im Tempel
und widmet sich nun dem dort waltenden menschlichen Kultpersonal.
Nur kultisch reine Personen und Dinge dürfen passieren. An der Spitze
der Priesterschaft nennt der Text zweimal eine Vielzahl Hoher Priester,
d.h. en (Z.105; 108), und sagt, sie seien die Anuna-Götter, d.h., das
landesweite Pantheon. Unseres Wissens dient jeweils nur ein en-
Priester einer großen Gottheit, und das en-Amt für Nintu/Ninhursaĝa
ist auch schon ihrem Gemahl  Šulpa'e zugesprochen worden (Z. 79).
Darum ist die Aussage gewiß so zu verstehen, daß an der nun begin-

nenden Kultfeier die Anuna-Götter in ihren "unzähligen" (Z. 108) Hohen Priestern teilnehmen. Auch andere auswärtige Gäste sind da: die nu-èš-Priester des E'ana-Tempels von Uruk, nach AbS die der Göttin Inana. Auch der König nimmt teil, und AbS macht in seiner Formulierung lugal Kiš[ki] klar, daß es nicht ein lokaler Herrscher, sondern der König des ganzen Landes ist, der bei den Prachtgefäßen[35] amtiert und die en-Priester mit Kultgewändern bekleidet. Diese Kultfeier ist ein landesweites Ereignis.

Die verschiedenen Priestergruppen üben ihre kultischen Funktionen aus, deren genaue Bedeutung uns noch verschlossen bleibt. Vokal- und Instrumental-Musik erklingt laut vernehmlich. Man besingt, daß der Tempel erbaut ist, und die Göttin läßt sich zum Festgelage nieder.

In der *VIII. Strophe* erklingt der Ruf: "Zur Stadt! Zur Stadt!," gefolgt von der Frage, ob wer angekommen sei, dort nicht auch am Kultfest teilnehmen wolle (in AbS: werde).[36] Der Ruf richtet sich gewiß an die Bevölkerung, die nach Keš pilgern und mit den Göttern feiern soll.

Den Abschluß bildet die Doxologie, die den Gott Ašgi dafür preist, daß das Heiligtum Keš errichtet wurde, ihn als Bauherrn feiert, und in das Lob der Göttin Nintu einmündet dafür, daß Keš in einem Preislied besungen wurde, eben diesem Preislied, das Enlil in den Mund gelegt ist.

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[35] So nach Sallaberger (1996:98).

[36] In der AbS-Fassung kann man ein Spiel mit den Homonymen ti/te "nahe kommen, ankommen" (perfektiv) und ti.l "sich aufhalten, wohnen" (singularisch) vermuten. Die altbabylonische Fassung schreibt te statt ti. Dort kann nun auch das zweite Verbum nur te "sich nähern" (kaum te.n "kühl sein/werden") sein. Schwierig-keiten bei der Interpretation Graggs—Lesung te-àm-te nach Text A, als Imperativ verstanden—hat Edzard (1974:111) hervorgehoben. Er sah in na-te einen Prohibitiv und übersetzte: "ein Nahender soll nicht nahen!" Heute wissen wir, daß ti/te-a das perfektive *hamṭu*-Partizip ist (oder der homonyme Imperativ Sg.) und daß man den Prohibitiv von der imperfektiven *marû*-Basis ti.ĝ/te.ĝ mit -ed-Erweiterung bildete mit Schreibung in der 3. Pers. Sg. *na-te-ĝe$_{26}$(.d); in der 2. Pers. Sg. *na-te-ĝe$_{26}$-dè-en; s. z.B. die Formen bei Geller (1985), Z. 108; 225; 418?; 441; 537 <-ĝe$_{26}$>; 579 (2. Sg.); Z. 165 kollektiv; 709 (3. Sg.); Z. 50; 398 (3. Pl.). Darum ist auch die Über-setzung von Black et al. (1998–): "Draw near, man, to the city, to the city—but do not draw near!" nicht möglich. (Das Verbot wäre durch einen negativen perfektiven Wunsch oder Affirmativ zu ersetzen: "you will/may not have . . ."). Th. Jacobsens ganz andere Auffasung "clients come seeking clientage" (Jacobsen 1987:385) kann ich im Detail nicht nachvollziehen. Am nächsten liegt m.E. die Annahme eines perfektiven negativen Affirmativs in einem Fragesatz: "Sollte jemand, der (in Keš) angekom-men ist, (noch) nicht wirklich herangekommen sein?" Das wäre eine Aufforderung an die in Keš Angekommenen, auch in den Tempel zum Kultfest zu kommen.

Die Sonderstrophen gliedern sich—soweit erkennbar—in diesen Ablauf ein und nehmen die Thematik der Nachbarstrophen auf.

Damit ist die Dichtung zum wiederholten Male der antiken Gattung des Preisliedes zugeordnet. Der Schluß, besonders die VII. Strophe und die Doxologie stellen sie in Zusammenhang mit anderen Werken der Poesie (Gudea-Zylinder, *Enki's Fahrt nach Nippur*), die aus Anlaß eines Tempel(neu)baus verfaßt wurden und an deren Schluß ein Fest beschrieben wird. A. Falkenstein spricht z.B. mit Bezug auf die Gudea-Zylinder von der "Tempelbau-Hymne Gudeas von Lagasch."[37] Man könnte daran denken, in solchen Liedern einen Teil der Festliturgie bei einem in regelmäßigen Intervallen gefeierten "Tempelweihfest" zu finden.

Der innere Aufbau legt aber eine etwas andere soziale Verankerung nahe, nämlich die *Keš-Hymne* als Wallfahrts-oder Prozessionshymne anzusehen, eine für das alte Babylonien noch nicht nachgewiesene Gattung. In diese Prosodion ist als *hieros logos* der Wallfahrt die Geschichte von Enlil und seinem Gesang, von einer Reise des singenden Enlil nach Keš und dem Fest nach Abschluß der Bauarbeiten erzählt. Das Lied ist streng nach Stationen der Wallfahrt aufgebaut; die ihnen zugeordneten Strophen sind jeweils als *n-tes* Haus gezählt. Was liegt näher, als in diesen Häusern Wegstationen für Rast und Andacht zu sehen, Kapellen und vielleicht auch Gasthäuser zur Erfrischung und Stärkung der müden Pilger.

*Keš-Hymne*: Übersetzung

*Proömium*: Enlil besingt Keš, Nisaba schreibt das Lied auf:

1 Die Fürstlichkeit, die Fürstlichkeit, führte ihn aus dem Haus heraus,
2 (Den Gott) Enlil führte die Fürstlichkeit aus dem Haus heraus,
3 Die Fürstlichkeit führte ihn für das Königtum aus dem Haus heraus,
4 Auf daß Enlil seine Augen zu den Bergen insgesamt erhebe,
5 als sich gerade für Enlil die Berge miteinander erhoben.
6 Die vier Himmelsecken und -kanten grünten für Enlil wie ein Baumgarten.

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[37] Falkenstein und von Soden (1953:137); er gebraucht den Begriff aber nicht für "Enki's Fahrt nach Nippur" (o.c., S. 133).

7 Keš bot ihm dort das gekrönte Haupt dar ([AbS: +], ein Gebirge, einen wohlgefälligen, zu betaunenden Ort).

8 Als Keš zu ihm unter allen Bergen das Haupt erhob,

9 Da sang Enlil für Keš ein Preislied,

10 Und (die Göttin) Nisaba—sie war die alleinige Schreibkundige dafür—

11 ließ es aus diesen Worten wie (Edelsteine) auf eine Saite tropfen,

12 Sie auf eine Tontafel schreibend, die sie sich gerade in die Hand legte:

*1. Haus*: Keš in großer Ferne:

13 "Haus, Sternenglanz des Landes, gelb-glänzender Stier, hochehrwürdig,

14 Haus Keš, Sternenglanz des Landes, gelb-glänzender Stier, hochehrwürdig,

15 Mit dem Gebirge verwachsen, den Himmel umarmend,

16 Mit dem Ekur verwachsen, der Berge hoch-erhobenes Haupt.

17 Wie der Süßwasserozean bunt gefärbt, wie das Gebirge begrünt!

18 Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen, als Keš?

19 Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären, als seinen Krieger Ašgi?

20 Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen, als seine Herrin Nintu?

21 Erstes Haus.

*2. Haus*: Optische und akustische Eindrücke:

22 Wohlgefälliges Haus, an wohlgefälligem Ort erbaut,

23 Haus von Keš, wohlgefälliges Haus, an wohlgefälligem Ort erbaut,

24 Wie ein fürstliches Lastschiff über den Himmel gesegelt,

25 Wie ein Silber-Lastschiff mit (prallen) Beuteln beladen,

26 Wie das Himmelsschiff Sternenglanz für alle Berge,

27 Wie ein junger Schwan vom Ufer weit entfernt?,

28 Haus, wie ein Stier brüllend, wie ein Zuchtstier laut tönend,

29 Haus, aus seinem Inneren heraus die Herzenskraft des Landes,

30 Von seiner Rückseite her der Lebensodem von Sumer,[38]

31 Haus, großes ib-Gebäude, bis an den Himmel hinangekommen,

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[38] V, LL, Ur₆ lesen hier nach Z. 91 "Lebensodem ins Herz gefüllt."

32      Haus, große rechte (Hand), bis an den Himmel hinange-
        kommen,

33      Haus, große Herrscherkrone, bis an den Himmel hinange-
        kommen,

(33a)   Haus, großes Gebirge bis an den Himmel hinangekommen,

34      Haus, Regenbogen, bis an den Himmel hinangekommen,

35      Haus—sein Sternenglanz über das Himmelsinnere gebreitet,

36      Sein Fundament bis in den Süßwasserozean eingetieft,

(36a)   Vom Fürsten aus dem Süßwasserozean heraus umschmeichelt,

37      Sein Schatten über alle Berg(länder) gedeckt,

38      Haus, vom (Himmelsgott) An auf die Erde gestellt, von Enlil
        im Preislied besungen,

39      Von der Mutter Nintu mit einem Omenspruch versehen,

40      Haus von Keš, mit Früchten verschönt!

41      Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen, als Keš?

42      Kann ( je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären, als
        seinen Krieger Ašgi?

43      Wer hat ( je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen, als seine Herrin
        Nintu?

44      Zweites Haus.


*3. Haus*: Dimensionen, Baukunst, Farben, Formen. Die Bauten sind
riesenhaft:

45      Das Haus, zum Himmel 600 bùr (3.880 ha//oder: 19.400.000m³),
        zur Erde 300 bùr,

46      Das Haus, zum Himmel 10 bùr (= 64, ha//oder: 320.000m³),
        zur Erde 5 bùr,

47      Das Haus, zum Himmel Wisent, zur Erde Hirsch,

48      Das Haus, zum Himmel Wildschaf, zur Erde Steinbock,

49      Das Haus, zum Himmel wie ein Wildschaf bunt gefärbt, zur
        Erde wie ein Steinbock gelbˀ gefärbt,[39]

(49a)   Das Haus, zum Himmel wie ein Schlangenfresser-Vogel gelbˀ
        gefärbt, zur Erde wie ein Schwan ans Wasser gestellt,

50      Das Haus, zum Himmel wie das Sonnenlicht aufgegangen,
        zur Erde wie das Mondlicht ausgebreitet,

51      Das Haus, zum Himmel ein . . . -mes-Baum, zur Erde ist es
        eine saftige Zeder,

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[39] Hier lesen W und BM ebenfalls gùn-a "bunt gefärbt."

52 Das Haus, zum Himmel ist es ein Berg, zur Erde ist es eine Tiefe(/Quelle),

53 Das Haus, von Himmel und Erde ist es doch wirklich das Dritte!

54 Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen, als Keš?

55 Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären, als seinen Krieger Ašgi?

56 Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen, als seine Herrin Nintu?

57 Drittes Haus.

*Sonderstrophe "IIIa" (I und NN)*: Das Wirken des Tempels unter den Göttern und für die Menschheit:

(57a) [Ein Haus (. . .)] Ehrfurcht gebietend, vom (Himmelsgott) An mit erhabenem Namen genannt,

(57b) [Ein Haus, wo der] große [Ber]g Enlil seine Bestimmung der Schicksale groß trifft,

(57c) [Ein Haus, wo] ein fürstlicher Versammlungsleiter der Anuna-Götter dem Volke Rat spendet,

(57d) Ein Haus—Wohnsitz für das Ausruhen der großen Götter

(57e) Ein Haus—dort wurden die Pläne von Himmel und Erde gezeichnet und die reinen Amtssymbole zugeteilt.

(57f) Ein Haus, wo das angesiedelte Volk, Seite an Seite gedrängt ist,

(57g) Ein Haus—Berg, der Überfluß und Pracht Tag auf Tag verbringen läßt,

(57h) Ein Haus, wo die (Göttin) Ninhursaĝa den Lebensodem des Landes *wiederhergestellt hat*—

(57i) Ein Haus—großes Gebirge, für die Riten geeignet, wo alles für sie verändert? ist,

(57j) Ein Haus, wo man ohne sie keine Entscheidung festsetzt,

(57k) Ein Haus, dessen Schatten angenehm, über das weite Land ausgebreitet ist,

(57l) Ein Haus—das zahllose Volk gebärend, Samen und Sprößlinge verschaffend,

(57m) Ein Haus—den König gebärend, das Schicksal des Landes bestimmend,

(57n) Ein Haus—seinen Thronsitzen die ihnen gebührende Verehrung erweisend!

(57o) Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen, als [Keš]?

(57p) Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären, als seinen [Krieger] Ašgi?

(57q) Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen, als [seine Herrin] Nintu?

(57r) ([Vier]tes [Haus].)

*4. Haus*: Keš von innen: eine komplexe, unüberschaubare Stadt mit pulsierendem Leben:

58 Es ist auch eine Stadt, es ist auch eine Stadt!—Wer hat je erfahren, wie es in ihr aussieht?

59 Das Haus von Keš ist auch eine Stadt!—Wer hat je erfahren, wie es in ihr aussieht?

60 Darinnen marschieren Krieger hin und her,

61 Dort trifft man großartig vortreffliche Orakelentscheidungen,

62 Beim Haus—da sind makellose Rinder—die treibt man da zusammen,

63 Schafen und Fettschwanzschafen? reinigt man alle . . .,

64 Das Haus—da sind zahllose Rinder—die verzehrt es,

65 Das Haus—da sind zahllose Schafe—die verzehrt es,

66 Die Thronenden insgesamt haben sich für es mit Hölzern beladen,

67 Es, das gleichsam mit Buchsbäumen himmelhoch[40] den Herrscherturban trägt,

68 Es, das gleichsam mit Euphratpappeln himmelhoch ausgebreitet ist,

69 Es, das gleichsam mit dem Gebirge himmelhoch ganz ergrünt ist!

70 Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres Hervorbringen als Keš?

71 Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären, als seinen Krieger Ašgi?

72 Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen, als seine Herrin Nintu?

73 Viertes(/[fünftes]) Haus.

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[40] BM (und vielleicht AAA) schreiben in Z. 67–69 finite Verbalformen àm-da-ab-gùr-ru "trägt (es) mit ihm," àm-da-PI.PI.SAL-la "das (sich mit ihm augebreitet/gespreizt hat"), àm-da-sig₇-sig₇-[ga] "das mit ihm ganz ergrünte" für das an-da "himmelhoch" + Partizip (67 *marû*, 68–69 *hamṭu*) der übrigen Textzeugen.

*5. Haus*: Der Tempel von innen, Löwen gebärend. Die Hauptgötter des Heiligtums walten ihres Amtes.

74 Das Löwen gebärende Haus—sein Inneres: Krieger, unergründlich,

75 Das Löwen gebärende Haus von Keš—sein Inneres: Krieger, unergründlich,

76 In ihm marschieren Krieger hin und her,

77 Ninhursaĝa—die einzig Große ist sie—hat es sich zu Herzen genommen,

78 Sodaß sie in Nintu, die große Mutter, alles Gebären legte.

79 "Der strahlend erschienene junge Mann" (Šulpa'e'a), der Stadtfürst, amtierte als en-Priester,

80 Auf daß Ašgi, der Krieger, dort die Erstlingsopfer verzehre.

81 Urumaš, der Großherold, hielt sich mit ihm in der Steppe auf,

82 Auf daß er beim Haus Wildschafe und Hirsche zusammen treibe.

83 Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen als Keš?

84 Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären als seinen Krieger Ašgi?

85 Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen als seine Herrin Nintu?

86 Fünftes (/sechstes) Haus.

*6. Haus*: Der Tempel von außen, von einer Temenosmauer umschlossen. Das von liegenden Löwenfiguren flankierte Tor mit reich verzierten Türflügeln und Verschlüssen:

87 Das Haus—wie ein Sturmdämon auf ein Podest gestellt,

88 Wie (ein) weiße(r) Wildstier(e) in der Steppe . . .,

89 Das Haus—vom Fürsten gegründet und zusammen mit Wildschafen gezeichnet²,

90 Das Haus—aus seinem Inneren heraus Herzenskraft des Landes,[41]

91 Von seiner Rückseite her Lebensodem ins Herz gefüllt,[42]

92 Aus seinem Tor heraus Löwen, auf ihre Pranken gelegt,

93 Aus seinem Tor heraus ein Herrscher, (vor dem) Klage erhoben (wurde),

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[41] Var. A, T, AA: "seine Herzenskraft—die des Landes."
[42] A liest hier nach Z. 30 "Lebensodem von Sumer."

94     Von dessen Türflügeln her ein Berg, sich zur Flucht nicht
       wendend,
95     Von deren Bolzen her gegen einen großen Wildstier gesenkte
       (Hörner),
(95a)  Deren Riegel, ein Hund², der an Leichen fraß,[43]
96     Sein angelegter Speicher—Himmelskreis und Erdkreis,
97     Sein Hochtempel(?)—festgegründete Lahama-Figuren,
98     Seine große fürstlich gebaute Mauer—das festgefügte
       Heiligtum Ur!
99     Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen als Keš?
100    Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären als
       seinen Krieger Ašgi?
101    Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen als seine Herrin
       Nintu?
102    Sechstes(/[siebentes]) Haus.

*Sonderstrophe "VIa" (IB 1511 ü 114–22; IB 425 w1'–4'):* Keš von innen.
Das Gebäude wird weiter beschrieben: sein Glanz, vielleicht Fenster,
die Fundierung und der mit silbernen Hörnern geschmückte Hoch-
tempel:

(102a)  Das Haus, Glanz tragend, Thronsitz . . .
(102b)  Das Haus, dem An, um die Scheuklappen zu öffnen, . . .
(102c)  Das der Herr Nudimmud . . .
(102d)  Das (die Gottheit) Nin-x-x im Lande angenehm . . .
(102e)  Das Ziegelbauwerk, dem vom Süßwasserozean her das Werk
        großartig . . .
(102f)  Der Hochtempel(?), Wohnsitz zum Ausruhen, . . .
(102g)  Mit silbern glänzenden Hörnern, inmitten des Volkes das
        Haupt erhoben . . .
(102h)  Das Haus, allen Bergländern zur Zierde gereichend, . . .
(102i)  Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen als Keš?
(102j)  Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären als
        seinen Krieger Ašgi?

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[43] BM ist vermutlich nach *Enki's Fahrt nach Nippur* 27 (*OECT* 1, 1 i 27 und Dupl.)
zu ergänzen: ĝiš-[si-ĝar-bi(-ta)] ur-mah ní gùr-ru "(Von) sein(em) Riegel (her) ein
Löwe, der mit Schrecken angetan ist;" es ist der im Curriculum folgende Text. Das
in Isin A auf ur folgende Zeichen (vor adda) ist nicht sicher zu lesen; FF (unveröff.)
ist vermutlich ur addaˡ x x zu lesen, T (unveröff.) vielleicht ] addaˡ-a ˹kúˈ˺-aˡ (Gragg:
lú-a ˹zuˈ˺-eš).

(102k)  We hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen als seine Herrin Nintu?

(102l)  (Achtes Haus.)

*7. Haus*: Der Tempel von innen. Das menschliche Kultpersonal. Eine festliche Kultfeier.

103  Das Haus, das den Lauteren passieren läßt, das fürstliche Haus,

104  Das Haus von Keš, das den Lauteren passieren läßt, das fürstliche Haus—

105  Des Hauses en-Priester sind die Anuna-Götter,

106  Seine nu-èš-Priester sind die Dolchträger (= Metzger?) des E'ana-Tempels.

107  Beim Haus trat der König (von Kiš) zu den Prunkgefäßen,

108  Ließ die zahllosen en-Priester den Leib mit Kultgewändern bekleiden.

109  Der A-tu-Priester nahm den Krummstab in die Hand,

110  Der Tu-Priester brachte? Wasser für das Orakel?,

111  Der "Honig-Priester" ließ ihn (auf dem Feld) an lauterem Ort sich hinsetzen,

112  Die enkum-Priester veranstalteten dort eine Beschwörung,

113  Während die pašeš-Prieter die Körper(/Felle?) schlugen,

114  Und sie "Gewaltiger, Gewaltiger" sagten.

115  Die Wildstierhörner dröhnten "gumga,"

(115a)  Während Trommeln und Handtrommeln laut erschallten.

116  Plektren surrten "suhsah,"

117  Wohlklingende Pauken schlugen den Takt:

118  "Das Haus ist erbaut, seine Wonne ist süß!

119  Das Haus von Keš ist erbaut, seine Wonne ist süß!

120  Seine Herrin hat sich zu Wein und Bier hergesetzt,

121  Seine Herrin Ninhursaĝa hat sich zu Wein und Bier hergesetzt!"

122  Kann jemand etwas Großartigeres hervorbringen als Keš?

123  Kann (je) eine Mutter einen Großartigeren gebären als seinen Krieger Ašgi?

124  Wer hat (je) jemand Großartigeres gesehen als seine Herrin Nintu?

125  Siebentes (/neuntes) Haus.

*8. Haus*: Einladung, nach Keš zu kommen, und an den, der dort angekommen ist, am Kultfest teilzunehmen. Preis des Gottes Ašgi für den Bau des Tempels und der Göttin Nintu dafür, daß er in einem Preislied besungen wurde.

126   Zur Stadt, zur Stadt! Sollte jemand, der (in Keš) angekommen ist, (noch) nicht wirklich herangekommen sein?[44]

127   Zum Haus von Keš, zur Stadt! Sollte jemand, der (in Keš) angekommen ist, (noch) nicht wirklich herangekommen sein?

128   Zu seinem Krieger Ašgi! Sollte jemand, der (in Keš) angekommen ist, (noch) nicht wirklich herangekommen sein?

129   Zu seiner Herrin Nintu! Sollte jemand, der (in Keš) angekommen ist, (noch) nicht wirklich herangekommen sein?

130   Dafür, daß Keš erbaut ist, sei Ašgi Preis!

131   Dafür, daß Keš in einem Preislied besungen ist, sei Mutter Nintu Preis!"

Achtes (/zehntes Haus).


*Umschrift  (Komposittext)*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nám-nun-e | nám-nun-e | é-ta | nam-ta-ab-è |
| $AbS_{I\,1}$ | [na]m-[nun]-né, | [n]am-nun-né, | ⌈é⌉-ta, | nam-ta-è, |
| 2 | ᵈEn-líl | nám-nun-e | é-ta | nam-ta-ab-è |
| $AbS_{I\,5}$ | [ᵈE]n-líl, | [n]am-nun-né, | [é]-ta, | [. . .] |
| 3 | nám-nun-e | nam-lugal-la | é-ta | nam-ta-ab-è |
| 4 | ᵈEn-líl-le | kur-kur-ra | igi | mi-ni-ib-íl-íl-i |
| 5 | ᵈEn-líl-ra | kur ní-ba | | mu-na-íl-íl-i |
| 6 | an-ub-da limmu ᵈEn-líl-ra | ᵍⁱˢkiri₆-gim | | mu-na-sig₇ |
| 7 | Kèšᵏⁱ | | saĝ men | mu-na-ni-ib-ĝál |
| $AbS_{ii\,2}$ | Kèš | men-gim, saĝ mu-ĝál, | hursaĝₓ(PA.TÙN) ki du₁₀, u₆ túm-ma, | |
| 8 | Kèšᵏⁱ | kur-kur-ra | saĝ | íl-bi |
| $AbS_{ii\,6}$ | é Kèš, | kur-kur-r[é?], | [. . .] | |
| 9 | ᵈEn-líl-le | Kèšᵏⁱ-a | zà-mí | àm-ma-ab-bé |
| 10 | ᵈNisaba | nu-ka | dili-bi-im | |
| 11 | inim-bi-ta | sa-gim | im-da-an-sur | |
| 12 | dub-ba | šar-šar | šu-šè | al-ĝá-ĝá |

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[44] In Z. 126–129 in der AbS-Fassung vielleicht: "Sollte, wer angekommen ist, nicht verweilen?"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | é | mùš kalam-ma | gu$_4$ huš | | Aratta$^{ki}$ |
| AbS$_{iii\ 1}$ | [ | ], | g[u$_4$ | | ], |
| 14 | é Kèš$^{ki}$ | mùš kalam-ma | gu$_4$ huš | | Aratta$^{ki}$ |
| AbS$_{iii\ 3}$ | é Kè[š], | mùš kala[m], | gu$_4$ huš | | $^⌈$x$^⌉$, |
| 15 | hur-saĝ-da | mú-a | an-da | | gú lá-a |
| 16 | É-kur-da | mú-a | kur-ra | | saĝ íl-bi |
| 17 | Abzu-gim | gùn-a | hur-saĝ-gim | | sig$_7$-ga |
| 18 | Kèš$^{ki}$-gim | | rib-ba lú | | ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu |
| 19 | ur-saĝ-bi | $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-gim | rib-ba | ama | ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu |
| AbS$_{iv\ 1}$ | [ ] | $^d$[Aš$_8$-gi$_4$-gim | rib-ba], | [ama | an-g]a-$^⌈$tu$^⌉$, |
| 20 | nin-bi | $^d$Nin-tu-gim | rib-ba-ra a-ba-a | | igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$ |
| 21 | | é 1-kam-ma-àm | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 22 | é | du$_{10}$ | ki du$_{10}$-ga | | ŕú-a |
| AbS$_{iv\ 4}$ | [é | du$_{10}$ | ki du$_{10}$ | | ŕ]ú, |
| 23 | é Kèš$^{ki}$ é | du$_{10}$ | ki du$_{10}$-ga | | ŕú-a |
| AbS$_{iv\ 5}$ | [é K]èš | [du$_{10}$ | ki du$_{10}$ | | ŕ]ú, |
| 24 | $^{ĝiš}$má-gur$_8$ | nun-gim | an-na | | diri-ga |
| AbS$_{iv\ 6}$ | [ | | | | ], |
| 25 | $^{ĝiš}$ma-gur$_8$ | kù-gim | dag-si | | ri-a |
| AbS$_{iv7}$ | [ | ], | [ ] | | ru, |
| 26 | $^{ĝiš}$má | an-na-gim | mùš | | kur-kur-ra |
| AbS$_{iv\ 9}$ | [ | a]n-[na-gim], | [ ], | | |
| 27 | u$_5$$^{mušen\ 45}$ | tur-gim | peš$_{10}$-ta | | sur-sur-ra |
| 28 | é | gu$_4$-gim | ur$_5$-ša$_4$ | nínda-gim gù nun di | |
| 29 | é | šà-bi-ta | lipiš | kalam-ma | |
| 30 | a-ga-bi-ta | | zi | ki-en-gi-ra | |
| AbS$_{iv18}$ | [ ], | | $_{(v\ 1)}$ [zi | ki]-e[n-gi], | |
| 31 | é | ib | gal an-né | | ús-sa |
| AbS$_{v\ 2}$ | é [x] | AN $^⌈$x$^⌉$ | [ x], an | | ú[s], |
| 32 | é | zi-da | gal an-né | | ús-sa |
| AbS$_{v\ 4}$ | é | [ ] | an | | ú[s], |
| 33 | é | men | gal an-né | | ús-sa |
| AbS$_{v\ 5}$ | $^⌈$é$^⌉$ | [ ] | gal a[n | | ], |
| (33a) | é | hur-saĝ gal | an-né | | ús-sa |
| 34 | é | $^d$tir-an-na | an-né | | ús-sa |
| AbS$_{v\ 6}$ | é | [ ] | an | | ú[s], |

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$^{45}$ So auch BM nach dem Photo; A (koll.) schreibt u$_5$-tur$^{mušen}$-gim.

35        é        mùš-bi              an-šà-ga            lá-a
AbS$_{v\,7}$     é        m[ùš-bi],           an-[                    ],
36        te-me-bi            abzu-a              si-ga
AbS$_{v\,9}$     te:me                      abzu,                   [  ]
(36a)    nun-e              abzu-ta            mí du$_{11}$-ga
37        ĝissu-bi            kur-kur-ra          dul-la
38        é        an-né              ki ĝar-ra          $^{d}$En-líl-le zà-mí du$_{11}$-ga
39        ama     $^{d}$Nin-tu            eš-bar              kíĝ    du$_{11}$-ga
40        é        Kèš$^{ki}$              gurun-na           sig$_{7}$-ga
41        Kèš$^{ki}$-gim               rib-ba        lú        ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu
42        ur-saĝ-bi $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_{7}$-gi$_{4}$-gim rib-ba        ama     ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu
43        nin-bi      $^{d}$Nin-tu-gim    rib-ba-ra a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_{8}$
44                            é 2-kam-ma-àm


45        é    an-šè    10.0;0.0 GÁNA              ki-šè    5.0;0.0 GÁNA
46        é    an-šè    10;0.0 GÁNA              ki-šè    5;0.0  GÁNA


47        é an-šè    alim                      ki-šè lu-lim
AbS$_{vi\,7}$     ⌜é⌝ [an]-⌜šè    alim⌝,                   ⌜ki⌝-šè luli[m],
48        é an-šè    šeĝ$_{9}$-bar               ki-šè dàra-maš
AbS$_{vi\,9}$     é    an-šè    še[ĝ$_{9}$-bar],              ki-šè    dàra-[maš],
49        é an-šè    šeĝ$_{9}$-bar-gim     gùn-a ki-šè dàra-maš-gim sig$_{7}$-ga
AbS$_{vi\,11}$    [        ],    [  ],                           [  ],
(49a)    é an-šè    muš-kú$^{mušen}$-gim$^{46}$ sig$_{7}$-ga ki-šè u$_{5}$$^{mušen}$-gim   a-e šú-a
AbS$_{vi\,14}$    [an-šè DU]R$^{?}$.⌜ŠUL$^{?}$⌝.DIŠ [(X) UD].LU.MUŠ, síg$^{?}$-ga, ⌜ki⌝-šè      u$_{5}$-gim,    ⌜a⌝   šú,
AbS$_{vi\,18}$    [x] MEN [        ], [                ]
50        é an-šè    u$_{4}$-gim              è-a    ki-šè iti$_{4}$-gim bàra-ga
51        é an-šè    $^{ĝiš}$mes-ŠUL/LAM          ki-šè $^{ĝiš}$eren    dur$_{5}$-ru-àm
52        é an-šè    kur-ra-àm                ki-šè idim-ma-àm
53        é an-ki-a 3-kam-ma-bi              na-nam
54 Kèš$^{ki}$-gim                rib-ba        lú        ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu
AbS$_{vii\,6}$    [                          ],        lú        an-ga-tú[m],
55 ur-saĝ-bi   $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_{7}$-gi$_{4}$-gim rib-ba        ama     ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu
AbS$_{vii\,8}$    ur-saĝ   $^{d}$Aš$_{8}$-gi$_{1}$-[gim]    ri[b]-ba,    ama     an-ga-tu,
56 nin-bi        $^{d}$Nin-tu-gim    rib-ba-ra a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_{8}$
57                            é 3-kam-ma-àm


_____

[46] So auch BM nach Photo und Kopie.

57a   [é x x] ní gal ši-ri      An-né mu mah sa$_4$

57b   [é x ku]r-gal $^d$En-líl-le nam-tar-ni gal tar-re

57c   [é] á nun ĝál $^d$A-nun-ke$_4$-ne ùĝ ĝalga šúm-mu

57d   é ki-tuš ní dúb-bu diĝir gal-e-ne

57e   é an ki-bi-da ĝiš-hur-bi ì-hur me sikil šu ba-e-⌜sè⌝

57f   é ùĝ ki ĝar-ra zà ĝar-ra ús-sa

57g   é kur hé-ĝál giri$_{18}$-zal u$_4$-zal-zal-le

57h   é $^d$Nin-hur-saĝ-ĝá zi kalam-ma ki-bi-šè ĝar

57i   é hur-saĝ gal šu-luh-ha túm-ma níĝ-nam-ma-ni ì-kúr

57j   é e-ne-da-nu ka-aš-bar nu-ĝá-ĝá

57k   é ĝissu-bi du$_{10}$ kalam daĝal-šè lá-a

57l   é ùĝ šár ù-tu numun $^{ĝiš}$isimu.SAR du$_{12}$-du$_{12}$

57m   é lugal ù-tu nam kalam-ma tar-re

57n   [é] bára-bára-bi šu-kiĝ dab$_5$-bé kè-dè

57o   [Kèš$^{k}$]$^i$-gim        rib-ba     lú    ši-in-ga-an-túm-mu

57p   [ur-saĝ]-bi $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-gim rib-ba     ama    ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu

57q   [nin-bi      $^d$]Nin-tu-gim    rib-ba-ra a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$

57r                  [é 4]-kam-ma-àm

 

58     iri in-ga-àm    iri in-ga-àm    šà-bi   a-ba-a mu-un-zu

59     é Kèš$^{ki}$        iri in-ga-àm    šà-bi   a-ba-a mu-un-zu

60     šà-bi-a ur-saĝ-ur-saĝ-e-ne si      mu-un-sá-sá-e-ne

61     eš-bar       kiĝ du$_{11}$-ga šu gal mu-un-du$_7$-du$_7$

62     é      gu$_4$ du$_7$-du$_7$-dam gu$_4$     àm-ma-gur-re

63     udu     GUKKAL×BULUG$^?$-e$^{47}$    TUM   àm-luh-luh-e

AbS$_{ix\ 9}$   [           ],        [   ] šár ⌜x⌝,

64     é-e    gu$_4$    šár-ra-àm    al-kú-e

AbS$_{ix\ 11}$   ⌜x⌝    udu     šár       a[l$^?$]-kú,

65     é-e    udu     šár-ra-àm    al-kú-e

AbS$_{ix\ 12}$   é     udu     šár,       a[l$^?$]-kú,

66     bára-bára-ke$_4$-ne       gú    ĝiš    àm-ma-ĝál-le-eš

AbS$_{ix\ 14}$   [         ],     [         ],

67     $^{ĝiš}$taskarin-da       men an-da gùr-ru

AbS$_{ix\ 16}$   $^{ĝiš}$[      ],       men   a[n]-⌜da⌝ gùr,

68     $^{ĝiš}$asal-gim          an-da TÁL.TÁL.SAL-la

AbS$_{ix\ 18}$   A.⌜X.X⌝ [X X],         [          ],

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$^{47}$ So BM nach dem Photo.

69       hur-saĝ-da                              an-da sig$_7$-sig$_7$-ga
70  Kèš$^{ki}$-gim                        rib-ba       lú       ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu
71  ur-saĝ-bi        $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-gim  rib-ba      ama     ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu
72  nin-bi       $^{d}$Nin-tu-gim      rib-ba-ra a-ba-a  igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$
73                          é 4-kam-ma-àm


74       é             piriĝ    ù-tu    šà-bi     ur-saĝ sù-ud
75       é Kèš$^{ki}$      piriĝ    ù-tu    šà-bi     ur-saĝ sù-ud
76       šà-bi-a       ur-saĝ-ur-saĝ-e-ne        si     mu-un-sá-sá-e-ne
77       $^{d}$Nin-hur-saĝ-ĝá        ušumgal-àm        šà     im-mi-in-dab$_5$
AbS$_{x\ 10}$$^?$  [          ],       NA[M           ],      [                         ],
AbS$_{x\ 13}$  [              ]-$^⌈$gi$_4$$^⌉$, [        A]N,    [     ]$^⌈$x$^⌉$ du$_7$-du$_7$,
78       $^{d}$Nin-tu      ama gal-la    tu-tu     mu-un-ĝá-ĝá
AbS$_{x\ 16}$  $^{d}$tu          ama gal,      tu-tu      al-ĝá-ĝá,
79       $^{d}$Šul-pa-è-a énsi-ke$_4$      nam-en    mu-un-ak
80       $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$     ur-saĝ-ĝe$_{26}$    nisaĝ    mu-un-kú-e
81       $^{d}$Urù-maš     nimgir gal    eden-na  mu-un-da-an-ti
82       é-e          š eĝ$_9$ lu-lim-e gú      àm-ma-gur-re[48]
83  Kèš$^{ki}$-gim                        rib-ba       lú       ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu
84  ur-saĝ-bi        $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-gim  rib-ba      ama     ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu
85  nin-bi       $^{d}$Nin-tu-gim      rib-ba-ra a-ba-a  igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$
86                          é 5-kam-ma-àm


87       é          u$_4$-gim      ki-gal-la    gub-ba
88       am        babbar-gim eden-na    su$_8$$^?$-da
89       é          nun-e       ki       ĝar-ra  šeĝ$_9$-šeĝ$_9$-da[49] hur-ra
90       é          šà-bi-ta    lipiš     kalam-ma
AbS$_{vii\ 14}$  é šà-$^⌈$bi$^⌉$,                zi [x] ĜAR    ka[lam],
91       a-ga-bi-ta              zi       šà-ge si-a
AbS$_{vii\ 16}$  bar-b[i],                    zi [x (x) x],
92       ká-bi-ta                piriĝ     šu-ba nú-a
AbS$_{vii\ 18}$  k[á-        ],             [        ]
93       ká-bi-ta                UN gal    gù ĝar-ra
94       é ig-bi-ta              kur       gaba nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
95       $^{ĝiš}$šu-de-eš-bi-ta       am gal-la  du$_7$-a

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[48]  So auch BM (mit Var. šeĝ$_9$ lu-lim-bi).
[49]  So auch BM nach Photo und Kopie; A (koll.) šeĝ$_8$ (ŠINIG)-da.

(95a)   $^{ĝiš}$saĝ-kul-bi          ur-mah$^{50}$    adda-a ⌈kú⌉-a⌉

AbS$_{viii\ 8}$  sa[ĝ- ],                ur-[          ],

96      ĝá-nun ĝar-ra-bi    an-šár     ki-šár

97      gi-gun$_4$-na-bi        la-ha-ma   ki ús-sa

AbS$_{viii\ 10}$  [          ],          [k]ur-gim šú-šú,

98      bàd gal nun-na-bi  èš Urí$^{ki}$   ᴋᴀ kéš-da

AbS$_{viii\ 12}$  bab aga ᴀɴ,          Urí$^{ki}$          ᴋᴀ kéš,

99 Kèš$^{ki}$-gim                 rib-ba      lú    ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu

AbS$_{viii\ 14}$  Kèš-gi[m]                r[ib-ba],   [lú    an-g]a-t[úm],

100 ur-saĝ-bi       $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-gim rib-ba      ama    ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu

AbS$_{viii\ 16}$  ur-saĝ      $^d$Aš$_8$-gi$_4$-gim,   rib-ba,     ama    an-ga-tu,

101 nin-bi         $^d$Nin-tu-gim   rib-ba-ra a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$

102             é 6-kam-ma-àm


(102a)   é su-lim ÍL bára ib$^?$-ba šu <...>

(102b)   é igi-tab an-né bar-re-dè <...>

(102c)   en $^d$Nu-dím-mud-e x me-a <...>

(102d)   $^d$Nin-LÚ×X.MA$^?$ kalam-ma du$_{10}^?$ <...>

(102e)   sig$_4$ abzu-ta kíĝ gal-le-eš <...>

(102f)   gi-gun$_4$-na ki-tuš ní dúb-bu <...>

(102g)   si-mùš kù šà ùĝ-ĝá saĝ zi <...>

(102h)   é kur-kur-ra me-te ĝál-la ⌈x⌉ <...>

(102i) ⌈Kèš⌉-gim                 rib-ba      lú    ši-i[n-ga-an-tùm-mu]

(102j) [u]r-saĝ-bi $^{d\ aš}$Aš$_7$-gi$_4$-g[im rib-ba      ama    ši-in]-g[a-an-ù-tu]

(102k) nin-bi      $^d$Nin-tu-gim   rib-ba-⌈aš⌉[a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$]

(102l)             é 8-kam-ma


103     é         kù     díb-bé          é nun

104     é Kèš$^{ki}$     kù     díb-bé          é nun

105     é-a         en-bi                  $^d$A-nun-na-me-eš

AbS$_{xi\ 8}$   [          ],          [$^d$]A-nun,

106     nu-èš-bi         ĝíri-lá          É-an-na-me-eš

AbS$_{xi\ 10}$  [nu-è]š-[bi],   [x x $^d$I]nana,

107     é-e     lugal     bur-ra-àm          mu-e-gub

AbS$_{xi\ 12}$  é       lugal, Kiš$^{ki}$, bur          am$_6$-ma-gub,

108     en šár  š  à     túg-ma$_5$          àm-mi-in-lá

AbS$_{xi\ 15}$  en šár              ma$_5$,              am$_6$-ma-lá,

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$^{50}$ Das Zeichen in Isin A ii 9' scheint ÙLU zu sein; danach ein klares adda.

109    a-tu-e              šibir           šu bí-in-du₈
AbS$_{xi\ 17}$    a-tu              tibir           [šuˀ am₆]-ma-du,
110    tu-e               a               KÍĜ-a mu-e-r̂e₆
111    làl-e   (a-šà-ga) ki-kù-ga          àm-mi-in-tuš
112    enkum-e-ne         tu₆             ki àm-ma-ĝál-le-eš
113    pa₄-šeš-e-ne        su              mu-un-sìg-ge-ne
114 u₁₈-ru               u₁₈-ru            mu-ni-ib-bé-ne
115 si am-ma-ke₄         gúm-ga           mi-ni-ib-za
(115a) šèm ˣᵘˢ̌á-lá-e     gù-nun           mi-ni-ib-bé
116 ᵍⁱˢ̌al-ĝar-sur-ra     sùh-sah₄          mi-ni-ib-za
117 tigi níĝ du₁₀-ge     si               ba-ni-ib-sá
AbS$_{xii\ 8}$    maš           ⌜x⌝ [ ],           mu-d[u₁₁ (x x)],
118 é al-r̂ú             giri₁₇-zal-bi     al-du₁₀
AbS$_{xii\ 10}$ é al-r̂ú,           giri$_x$(LAK 85)-zal   al-r̂ú,
119    é Kèš$^{ki}$       al-r̂ú  giri₁₇-zal-bi         al-du₁₀
AbS$_{xi\ 12}$    é kèš,           al-r̂ú,   giri$_x$(LAK 85)-zal   a[l-r̂ú],
120    nin-bi            tin kaš-a         mu-un-tuš
AbS$_{xii\ 15}$    I Nin-h[ur]-s[aĝ],    I tin ka[š],        I mu-[tuš],
121    ᵈNin-hur-saĝ-ĝá    tin kaš-a        mu-un-tuš
AbS$_{xii\ 18}$    I ⌜dˀ⌝[        ],     [        ],     $_{Rs\ i\ 1}$ [   ]
122 Kèš$^{ki}$-gim         rib-ba    lú      ši-in-ga-an-tùm-mu
AbS$_{Rs,I\ 2}$    I [Kèš-g]i[m       rib-ba],    lú     an-ga-[túm],
123 ur-saĝ-bi      ᵈ ᵃˢ̌Aš₇-gi₄-gim rib-ba      ama    ši-in-ga-an-ù-tu
AbS$_{Rs,i\ 3}$    I ur-saĝ ᵈA[š₈]-gi₄-gi[m]   <. . .>
124 nin-bi      ᵈNin-tu-gim    rib-ba-ra a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du₈
125                    é 7-kam-ma-àm


126    iri-šè            iri-šè          lú te-a na-te
AbS$_{Rs,ii\ 1}$    iri-šè           i[ri]-⌜šè⌝,     lú ti-a, nu-ti,
127    é Kèš$^{ki}$ iri-šè          lú te-a na-te
AbS$_{Rs,ii\ 4}$    iri-šè,           é Kèš-šè,     lú ti-a, nu-ti,
128    ur-saĝ-bi      ᵈ ᵃˢ̌Aš₇-gi₄-šè lú te-a   na-te
129    nin-bi        ᵈNin-tu-šè    lú te-a   na-te
AbS$_{Rs,ii\ 8}$    ⌜dˀ⌝Tu-am₆    [nuˀ-t]i    [            ]
130    Kèš$^{ki}$ r̂ú-a                ᵈ ᵃˢ̌Aš₇-gi₄    zà-mí
131    Kèš$^{ki}$ zà-mí du₁₁-ga ama ᵈNin-tu zà-mí
132                    é [8]-kam-ma-àm

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